BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

Nath.l Parr Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal WOLSEY*,

Prime Minister to King HENRY VIII.

I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preferment, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domestick, from the Death of EDWARD IV. to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII.

II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Minister, commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII. and continued by way of Annals to his Disgrace and Death, including the general Transactions of *Europe*.

III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demise of the Cardinal, to their respective Deaths.

IV. The Secret History of the Cardinal, by *George Cavendish*, Esq; his Gentleman-usher, written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY.

In which are interspersed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the most eminent Persons: And the whole illustrated with Political and Moral Reflections.

Collected from Antient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Adorn'd with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CIC.

Oh fatal Love of Fame! Oh glorious Heat!
Only destructive to the Brave and Great. ADDIS.

By JOSEPH GROVE, *Gent.*

The SECOND EDITION, VOL. II.

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BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA

TO THE

Right Honourable

Arthur Onſlow, Eſq;

SIR,

THE continual Encouragement You have given to *uſeful Literature*, and more particularly to *Hiſtory*, has induced me to take the Freedom

of placing Your *honourable Name* before this Part of my Endeavours; a *Name* that is in high Eſteem, and will be revered for Ages to come: When *that* is but mentioned, the great Abilities, maſterly Eloquence, graceful Delivery, ſtrong Senſe, attractive Perſon, noble yet courteous Behaviour, ſteady yet condeſcending Temper, which all centre in You, muſt naturally flow to the Remembrance of every *True Briton*.

In declaring thus far, Sir, tho' it may not be quite grateful to Yourſelf,

Yourſelf, I hope to obtain Your Pardon, becauſe I am perſuaded, that I ſhall not fall under the Charge of Flattery from the more ſenſible Part of Mankind, who are ſomewhat at a Loſs, whether to admire moſt *Your Actions in Publick or Private Life*, all agreeing, that, when Mr. ONSLOW's *Merit* is ſpoke of, Envy is ſtruck dumb.

As to the Performance, if it ſhould, through Your generous Indulgence, be kindly received by You, I am aſſured it will not only

only greatly recommend it to the World, but afford me the moſt agreeable Pleaſure, in that I have, without giving Offence, this Opportunity of publickly teſtifying, that I am, with the utmoſt Reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt Obliged,

Moſt Obedient, and

Devoted Servant,

J. GROVE.

THE PREFACE

WE cannot but think ourſelves under the Obligation of acknowledging, firſt, the Good-will of our *Friends* in particular, and next, the Clemency of the *Publick* in general, for the kind Encouragement they have given to our *firſt* Publication, and hope we ſhall equally merit their Favour in *this*, and the *two others* that are to follow with as much Diſpatch as can be conveniently made.

In our *firſt Volume* we traced the CARDINAL from his Birth, through his Education, Advancement in Learning and firſt Preferments, to his Entrance and growing in Favour at Court. In *this* we have attended him, from his firſt Riſe at Court, through the various Steps of Dignity that conveyed him to be *Archbiſhop*, *Lord High Chancellor*, *Cardinal*, and *Legate a Latere*, all which he enjoyed at once; but how well he acquitted himſelf in thoſe high Truſts, we ſhall leave our READERS to ſee for themſelves, which, we hope, they will not be diſcouraged

from

from the Purſuit of, notwithſtanding a Reverend Gentleman's jejune, trite, and ungenerous Summary of his Life, *(in his Lives and Characters,* accompanying the Heads * of Eighty *Illuſtrious Perſons* of *Great Britain)* which is ſo far from anſwering the Title, or the grand Picture of the Cardinal, that he has rather made him a fitter Companion for a NERO or a CALIGULA, than any thing that can be called *truly Illuſtrious.*

One thing more may not be amiſs to mention, that it has occaſionally fell in our Way to touch on the Pedigree or Deſcent of a great Number of our noble, antient, and worthy Families, both of *Great Britain* and *Ireland,* apprehending that they could not be of any Diſſervice, if of no real Advantage to many of their preſent Succeſſors. And we muſt here obſerve, that we have omitted to relate that the Right Hon. Sir *William Yonge* is deſcended from the elder Brother of Dr. *Yonge,* who was Maſter of the Rolls in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, and a great Favourite of the Cardinal's. *See* Fol. 331, of this Volume.

* *Engraved by the ingenious Meſſ.* HOUBRAKEN, *and* VERTUE.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal* WOLSEY.

WE concluded our First Volume of this History with the Death of *Henry* the VIIth. who was succeeded in the Throne by his only Son, *Henry* the VIIIth, then about Eighteen Years of Age, *April* the 22d. *Hen. VIII ascends the Throne.* 1509.

Great Care had been taken of this King's Education, by instructing him in all Parts of Learning necessary for a Prince design'd for an Ecclesiastick, if his Brother Prince *Arthur* had lived. Having in his Youth, as Lord *Herbert* asserts, applied himself much to Learning, so that he made a good *His Education.*

Progreſs in the Sciences; and herein he was greatly forwarded by Mr. *Wolſey*, Dean of *Lincoln*; inſomuch, that, as Hiſtorians agree, for ſeveral Years in the beginning of his Reign, no Affairs diverted him from converſing with learned Men, and encouraging Learning, which ſeems to appear by the Choice of his Counſellors.

Lord Stafford *arreſted, but ſoon diſcharged.*

The Day the King aſcended the Throne, the Lord *Stafford*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was committed to the *Tower*, but was ſoon after diſcharged. Lord *Herbert* ſeems to think there was no Colour for his Commitment, becauſe he was immediately created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, made one of the Knights of the Garter, and continued to his Death in great Favour with his Majeſty, which happened about fourteen Years after his Confinement, when he died without Iſſue.

His Majeſty ſettles his Privy Council.

His Majeſty early took Care to ſettle his Privy Council; the Chief of which were,

1. *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord High Chancellor.

2. *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Privy Seal.

3. *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, Lord High Treaſurer.

4. *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, Lord High Steward of the King's Houſhold.

5. *Thomas Ruthal*, ſoon after made Biſhop of *Durham*.

6. Lord *Herbert*, of *Gower*, &c. Lord Chamberlain.

7. Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, Comptroller of the King's Houſhold.

8. Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Maſter of the Wards, and Conſtable of the *Tower*.

Dean

Dean *Wolſey* was appointed the King's Almoner, and, as ſoon as he appeared at Court, his Majeſty received him with great Marks of Favour, ſingling him out from his other Attendants, and converſed with him in ſo much Freedom, that the Courtiers paid the Reſpect to him, as to one looked upon in the high Road to Preferment.

Shews Wolſey great Favour.

The King, after ſettling his Council, iſſued a Proclamation, wherein is ſet forth, "That his Majeſty, being informed his good Subjects had been oppreſſed under the ſpecious Pretence of preſerving the Prerogative of the Crown, gave them Leave to bring in their Complaints, and promiſed them Satisfaction:" And withal the King confirm'd his Father's general Pardon, granted before his Death, excepting, as *Stow* ſays, all Perſons guilty of Murder, Felony, or Treaſon.

And iſſues a Proclamation.

This

The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL, by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Eſq; his Gentleman-Uſher.

CHAP. II.

Of King HENRY *the* VIIIth's *Aſcending the Throne, and the* CARDINAL's *Favour with him.*

'AFTER the Solemnizations, and coſtly Triumphs, our natural, young, couragious, luſty Prince, and Sovereign Lord, King *Henry* the Eighth, entering into his Flower and luſty Youth, took upon him the Royal Sceptre, and Imperial Diadem of this fertile Nation, the two and twentieth of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1509, which at that Time flouriſhed with all Abundance of Riches, whereof the King was moſt ineſtimably furniſhed, called then the golden World.

'Now ſhortly after, the *Almoner* ſeeing he had a plain

Complaints brought againſt Empſon, Dudley, *&c.*

This Proclamation ſo much engaged the Hearts of the People towards the young King, that his Clemency was the Subject of all Converſations. Petitions were ſoon brought from all Parts of the Kingdom, not only againſt *Empſon* and *Dudley*, but alſo againſt their Under-ſtrappers, called *Promoters*, filled with Complaints of the Extortions they had been guilty of in the Execution of their Offices; among the latter were *Joſeph Derby*, *Joſeph Smith*, and *John Simſon*, with whom the Government made ſhort Work, inſtantly trying, convicting, and ſentencing them ſeverally according to their Deſerts; and then they were conveyed thro' the City on Horſeback, with their Faces to the Horſes Tails, and Papers pinned to their Breaſts, denoting the Offences they had been guilty of; at which Time the Populace were not wanting in their Beneficence. This Treatment had ſuch an Effect on theſe Miſcreants, that

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' Path-way to Promotion, be-
' haved himſelf ſo politickly,
' that he was made one of the
' King's Privy Council, and in-
' creaſed in Favour daily; to
' whom he gave a Houſe at
' *Bridewell* near *Fleet-ſtreet*,
' where he kept his Houſe for
' his Family, and ſo he daily at-
' tended upon the King, being
' in ſpecial Favour.

' His Sentences in the Star-
' Chamber were ever ſo pithy
' and witty, that, upon all Oc-
' caſions, they aſſigned him, for
' the fluent Eloquence of his
' Tongue, to be the Expoſitor
' to the King in all their Pro-
' ceedings. In whom the King
' received ſo great Content, that
' he called him ſtill nearer to
' his Perſon; and the rather,
' becauſe he was ready to ad-
' vance the King's own Will
' and Pleaſure, having no reſpect
' to the Caſe.

' Now the King being young,
' and much given to his Pleaſure,
' his old Counſellors adviſed him
' to have Recourſe ſometimes
' to the Council about his weigh-
' ty Affairs; but the *Almoner*, on
' the contrary, perſuaded him to
' mind his Pleaſure, and he
' would take his Care and Charge
' upon himſelf, (if his Majeſty
' would Countenance him with
' his Authority) which the King
' liked well. And thus none
' was like to the *Almoner* in Fa-
' vour with the King.

CHAP.

that divers of them ſhortly after died in *Newgate*. A Warning, one would think, ſufficient to deter Perſons from enriching themſelves by ſtirring up Suits on Inquiſitions, and obſolete Recognizances.

But Mr. *Salmon* remarks — "Thus we find the "Miniſtry making a Sacrifice of their inferior Agents "and Under-ſtrappers at the beginning of this Reign, "to remove the Odium of the late Extortions from "themſelves; for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe "unhappy Men durſt have diſtreſſed the Nation in "the manner they did, if they had not been ſupport-"ed and encouraged in it by their Superiors: But "this has ever been the Policy of the great Men at "the Helm, when they have ventured upon any "deſtructive Schemes, to give up their Inſtruments, "in order to turn the Fury of the People from them-"ſelves, expecting to be looked upon as Patriots, "perhaps for puniſhing thoſe very Facts which they "themſelves adviſed."

Emp-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

CHAP. III.

Of King Henry's *Invading* France *in his own Perſon, with the Cardinal's Aſſiſtance.*

'THUS the *Almoner* continuing in high Favour, 'till at laſt many Preſents, 'Gifts, and Rewards, came in 'ſo plentifully, that, I dare ſay, 'he wanted nothing, for he had 'all Things in Abundance, that 'might either pleaſe his Fancy, 'or enrich his Coffers; for the 'Times ſo favourably ſmiled upon him, but to what End you 'ſhall hereafter hear: Therefore 'let all Men, to whom Fortune 'extendeth her Favour and 'Grace, take heed they truſt 'not her ſubtil and fair Promiſes, for under Colour there-'of ſhe carries an envious Gall; 'for, when ſhe ſeeth her Servant 'in higheſt Authority, ſhe turneth her Favour and pleaſant 'Countenance into Frowns.

'This *Almoner* climbing up 'Fortune's Wheel, that no Man 'was in Eſtimation with the 'King, but only he, for his 'witty Qualities and Wiſdom.

'He had an eſpecial Gift of 'natural Eloquence, and a filed 'Tongue to pronounce the ſame, 'that he was able therewith, to 'perſuade and allure all Men to 'his Purpoſes, in the time of his 'continuance in Fortune's Favour.

'In

Empſon and *Dudley*, the two principal Contrivers of all this Calamity, were cited before the Council, where the principal Articles againſt them were briefly exhibited. *Empſon* anſwered for them both, "That he could not but take it "as a Favour that he was allowed to "ſpeak for himſelf and Mr. *Dudley*, "when he conſidered with what Violence they had "been purſued; and obſerved, that the Accuſation "was of a very new and ſtrange Nature; that uſually "Men were proſecuted for acting againſt the Laws, "or diſobeying their Sovereign's Commands; but "they were charged for executing the Laws, of "which the People were the Authors. That he "knew it was to little purpoſe for him to ſpeak, when "the King, to whom they ſhould appeal as their "ſupreme Judge and Protector, had abandoned them "to the Fury of their Enemies, for no other Cauſe "than obeying his Father's Orders, and maintaining "his

Empſon's Speech.

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

'In the fifth Year of the 'Reign of King *Henry* the 'Eighth it chanced, that the 'Realm of *England* and *France* 'was at Variance, but upon what 'Ground or Occaſion I know 'not; inſomuch, that the King 'was fully reſolved in his own 'Perſon to invade *France* with a 'puiſſant Army: It was there-'fore thought very neceſſary, 'that his Royal Enterprizes 'ſhould be ſpeedily provided and 'furniſhed in every degree, in 'Things apt and convenient for 'the ſame. For Expedition the 'King thought no Man's Wit 'ſo meet for Policy and pain-'ful Travel as the *Almoner*, 'to whom he committed his 'whole Affiance, and Truſt 'therein: And he being nothing 'ſcrupulous in any Thing that 'the King would command, 'although it ſeemed very diffi-'cult, took upon him the whole 'Charge of the Buſineſs, and 'proceeded ſo therein, that he 'brought all Things to good 'Effect in direct Order, for all 'manner of Victuals and Pro-'viſion convenient for ſo noble a 'Voyage and Army.

'All Things being thus pre-'pared by him in Order, the 'King not intending to neglect 'or delay any Time, but with 'noble and valiant Courage to 'advance his Royal Enterprize, 'paſſed the Seas between *Dover* 'and *Calis*, where he proſpe-'rouſly arrived; and, after he 'had

" his Authority. How could they expect Juſtice " from the People, or have an equal Tryal from " them, who ſought their Deſtruction before they were " heard? If any of the Statutes, that had been put " in Force, were diſagreeable to the Kingdom, why " were they not repealed? Was it ever known before, " that an Attempt ſhould be made for condemning " Men for doing Juſtice, eſpecially when the King, " the chief Diſpenſer thereof, had confirmed and " warranted every part of their Proceedings, which " they were able to ſhew. An Attempt (ſays he) " before unheard of! and if what we have thus done " be now conſtrued as Crimes, and we ſuffer thereby, " I deſire it may not be divulged to Foreign Nations, " leſt they ſhould infer the final Diſſolution of the *En-* " *gliſh* Government was approaching".

To this one of the Council anſwered, " That, tho' *Empſon* had ſpoken " with Boldneſs, yet he had not " thereby

One of the Council anſwers Empſon.

' had there made his Arrival, ' and landed all his Proviſion ' and Munition, and ſate in Con- ' ſultation about his weighty ' Affairs, marched forth in good ' Order of Battle, till he came to ' the ſtrong Town of *Turwine*, ' to the which he laid ſtrong ' Siege, and made a ſharp As- ' ſault, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace ' it was yielded unto him, unto ' which Place the Emperor *Max-* ' *imilian* reſorted unto him with ' a great Army like a mighty ' Prince, taking of the King's ' Wages.

' Thus, after the King had ' taken this ſtrong Town, and ' taken Poſſeſſion thereof, and ' ſet all Things in good Order, ' for the Defence and Preſerva- ' tion thereof to his Majeſty's ' Uſe, then he retired from thence ' and marched towards *Turney*, ' and there lay'd Siege in like ' manner; to which he gave ſo ' fierce Aſſault, that the Ene- ' mies were conſtrained to render ' the Town to his Majeſty. At ' which Time, the King gave ' unto the *Almoner* the Biſho- ' prick of the ſame See towards ' his Pains and Diligence ſuſtain- ' ed in that Journey. And ' when he had eſtabliſhed all ' Things according to his Prince- ' ly Mind and Pleaſure, and fur- ' niſhed the ſame with Men and ' Captains of War for the Safe- ' guard of the Town, he pre- ' pared for his Return to *En-* ' *gland*.

' But

" thereby cleared himſelf and *Dudley* of the Charge " brought againſt them; for that they were not " accuſed of executing the Laws, or obeying " the lawful Commands of the late King, but for " ſtretching the Laws beyond their due Bounds, and " exceeding their Sovereign's Authority, which Ac- " cuſation the Council had Reaſon to believe was " too well grounded; and therefore it was his Majeſ- " ty's Pleaſure, that they ſhould be committed to the " *Tower*, till an Enquiry could be made into the Charge " that had been brought againſt them."—— And upon breaking up of the Council they were accordingly committed.

Rapin's *Remarks on their Caſe.*

" In any other Country (ſays *Rapin*) " an Act of Sovereignty to ſend theſe " two Men to the Gallows would " have been ſeen with Joy; but it's " not the ſame in *England*, becauſe no Man can be " condemned unheard, of which Privilege the " greateſt Criminals are not debarred. It was neceſ- " ſary therefore to find out ſome expreſs Law to " condemn

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

" But now you ſhall underſtand " by the way, that, whilſt the " King was abſent with a great " Power in *France*, the *Scottiſh* " King invaded *England*, againſt " whom the Queen ſent a great " Army, the Earl of *Surry* be- " ing General, where he over- " threw the *Scots* at *Balmſton*, " called *Hoddenfield*, where the " King of *Scots* was ſlain, with " divers of his Nobility, and " eighteen thouſand Men, and " they took all his Munition for " War.

" By this time the King re- " turned into *England*, and took " with him divers noble Perſo- " nages of *France*, being Priſo- " ners; as the Duke of *Longui- " do*, Viſcount *Clerimond*, with " divers others that were taken in " a Skirmiſh.

" And thus God gave him " Victory at Home, and Victo- " ry Abroad, being in the fifth " Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.* " One Thouſand Five Hundred " and Thirteen.

CHAP.

" condemn them; but, upon examining the Accu-
" ſation already brought againſt them, great Difficul-
" ties occurred. It appeared, that, tho' they had been
" guilty of numberleſs Extortions in their mercileſs
" Execution of the Penal Laws, in carrying the Laws
" even beyond what they would bear, that would
" not be ſufficient to take away their Lives, being in
" themſelves only Miſdemeanours. It was reſolved,
" at laſt, to proſecute them for Treaſon committed
" againſt *Henry* VIII."

And, to proceed, not long after *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s Commitment, they were ſeverally indicted both in *London* and *Northampton*; the overt Acts charged againſt them were, that they had conſpir'd againſt the King and State, and ſummoned, during his late Majeſty's Illneſs, ſome of their Friends to be ready to take Arms at an Hour's Warning, in order, upon his Death, to haſten to *London*; and either deſtroy or ſeize the King's Perſon. *They are indicted.*

On

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

CHAP. IV.

The King promoting his Almoner, *being made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of* England.

' THE King being returned ' into *England*, the See of ' *Lincoln* became void by the ' Death of Doctor *Smith* late Bi- ' ſhop there, which Biſhoprick ' the King gave to the *Almoner* E- ' lect of *Turney*, who was not ne- ' gligent to take Poſſeſſion there- ' of, but made all Speed for his ' Conſecration; the Solemniza- ' tion thereof being ended, he ' found a Way to get into his ' Hands all his Predeceſſor's ' Goods, whereof I have ſeen ' divers Parts that furniſhed his ' Houſe.

' It was not long after, but ' Doctor *Bambridge*, Archbiſhop ' of *York*, died at *Roban* in ' *France*, being there the King's ' Ambaſſador, unto which See ' the King preſented the laſt ' new Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſo that ' he had three Biſhopricks in ' his hands at one Time, all ' in one Year given him. Then ' prepared he again for his Tran- ' ſlation from the See of *Lincoln*, ' to that of *York*, as he did be- ' fore to his Inſtallation.

' After which Solemnization ' done, and being the Archbi- ' ſhop and *Primas Angliæ*, ' thought himſelf ſufficient to

And convicted of High Treason.

On the 16th of *July*, *Dudley* was tried at *Guildhall*, *London*, and *Empſon* at *Northampton*, on the 14th of *October* then following, who were ſeverally found guilty of High Treaſon; and the People in general not only rejoiced on their Conviction, but were ſo incenſed againſt them, that, when they were brought out of the *Tower*, they were followed by the Populace with loud Acclamations of, *Hang up the Commiſſioners of Forfeitures! Hell-hounds! Blood Suckers*, &c.

Burnet's *Obſervations on their Caſe.*

Biſhop *Burnet*, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, tells us, "That *Empſon* and "*Dudley*, apprehending the Danger "they were like to be in upon their "Maſter's Death, had been practiſing with their Partners, to gather about them all the Power they could "bring together; whether to ſecure themſelves "from popular Rage, or to make themſelves "ſeem conſiderable or formidable to the new King; "this

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

'compare with that of *Canter-*
'*bury*, and did thereupon ad-
'vance his Croſſes in the Courts,
'and every other Place, as well
'in the Precinct and Juriſdiction
'of *Canterbury*, as any other
'Place: And foraſmuch as *Can-*
'*terbury* claimeth a Superiority
'over *York*, as well as over a-
'ny other Biſhopriek within
'*England*, and for that cauſe
'claimeth an Acknowledgment,
'as in antient Obedience of
'*York*, to abate Advancement
'of his Croſſes, to the Croſſes
'of *Canterbury*.

'Notwithſtanding *York* not
'deſiſting to bear the ſame,
'although *Canterbury* gave *York*
'a Check for the ſame, and told
'him, it was Preſumption, by
'reaſon whereof there ingendered
'ſome Grudge between them:
'But ſhortly after he obtained
'to be made Cardinal, and
'*Legatus de Latere*, unto whom
'the Pope ſent the Cardinal's
'Cap, and certain Bulls for his
'Authority in that Behalf,
'whereupon he was Inſtalled
'at *Weſtminſter* in great Triumph
'which was executed by all Bi-
'ſhops with their Mitres, Caps,
'and other Ornaments: And
'after all this, he was made
'Chancellor of *England*, and
'*Canterbury* who was the Chan-
'cellor, was diſmiſſed.

'Now he being in the Chan-
'cellorſhip, and endowed with
'the promotions of Archbiſhop,
'and Cardinal *de Latere*, thought
him-

" this and other Crimes being brought againſt them, " they were found guilty of Treaſon in a legal " Way."

A Remark thereon.

The Propriety of this we ſhall not examine into, but only remark on what the learned Biſhop phraſes *found guilty in a legal Way*; for, tho' Hiſtorians allow, that they met with their deſerved Fate, moſt believed them not guilty of the Crimes they were convicted of; not being able to conceive, that two Perſons, who had made themſelves ſo hateful to the Nation, could hope for any Support in an Attempt to levy War and ſieze the King's Perſon.

Notwithſtanding the different Juries, that tried theſe avaricious Commiſſioners, found them guilty of Crimes worthy of Death, his Majeſty did not think proper to order them immediately for Execution, but directed them to be detained in Cuſtody, till their Caſes ſhould be laid before the Parliament, which did not meet this Year.

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' himſelf ſo fully furniſhed, that ' he was now able to ſur- ' mount *Canterbury* in all Ju- ' riſdictions; and in all Eccle- ' ſiaſtical Powers to Convocate ' *Canterbury*, and all other Bi- ' ſhops, and Spiritual Perſons ' to aſſemble at his Convoca- ' tions, where he would aſſign, ' and take upon him the Con- ' verſion of all Miniſters, and ' others within their Juriſdictions, ' and viſited all the Spiritual ' Houſes, in their Dioceſe, and ' all manner of Spiritual Mi- ' niſters, as Commiſſioners, ' Scribes, Apparators, and all ' other neceſſary Officers to fur- ' niſh his Courts, and did con- ' vent by Convention, whom he ' pleaſed through this Realm and ' Dominion, and all other Per- ' ſons to the Glory of his Dig- ' nity. Then had he two great ' Croſſes of Silver, whereof one ' was of his Archbiſhoprick, ' and the other of his Legaſie, ' borne before him whereſoever ' he rode or went, by two of ' the talleſt Prieſts that he could ' get in this Realm.

' And to the Increaſe of his ' Gain, he had in his Hand the ' Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and St. ' *Albans* in Commendum: Alſo, ' when Doctor *Fox*, Biſhop of ' *Wincheſter* died, he did ſur- ' render *Durham* to the King, ' and took himſelf to *Wincheſter*. ' He had alſo, as it were in ' Farm, the Biſhoprick of *Bath*, ' *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, for

The Wits in thoſe Days employed themſelves in making Satyrical Pieces on *Empſon* and *Dudley*, particularly, Mr. *Corniſh*, of the King's Chapel, made ſeveral ſevere Verſes on Sir *Richard Empſon*, at the Requeſt of the Earl of *Kent*, in Return for ſome hard Uſage the Earl had met with from *Empſon* in the Time of his Miniſtry.

Stow relates, that *Dudley*, during his Confinement, wrote a Book, intituled *The Tree of Common-Wealth*, which he dedicated to the King, a Copy whereof he gave to his Grandſon, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, about the Year 1562.

Dudley's *large Fortune.*

Dudley, at the Time of his Fall, had no leſs in Offices than to the yearly Value of 800 *l.* beſides 20,000 *l.* in ready Money, over and above Jewels, Plate, and rich Houſhold Goods, to a very great Amount; and all this he gathered in leſs than 13 Years Time.

Empſon

' the Incumbents of them were ' Strangers. He had alſo at- ' tending upon him Men of ' great Poſſeſſions, and the tal- ' leſt Yeomen for his Guard in ' the Realm.

CHAP. V.

Of the Orders and Officers of his Houſe and Chapple.

' NOW firſt for his Houſe ' you ſhall underſtand, ' that he had in his Hall three ' Boards kept with three ſeveral ' Officers (that is to ſay) a Stew- ' ard, that was always a Prieſt; ' a Treaſurer, that was ever a ' Knight; and a Comptroller ' that was an Eſquire: Alſo a ' Confeſſor, a Doctor; three ' Marſhals, three Uſhers in the ' Hall, beſides two Almoners ' and Grooms.

' Then had he in the Hall- ' Kitchen two Clarks, a Clark ' Comptroller, and a Surveyor ' over the Dreſſer; a Clark in ' the Spicery, which kept con- ' tinually a Meſs together in the ' Hall; alſo he had in the Hall- ' Kitchen two Cooks, and La- ' bourers, and Children, twelve ' Perſons; four Men of the ' Scullery, two Yeoman of the ' Paſtry, with two other Paſt- ' layers under the Yeomen.

' Then had he in his Kitchin, ' a Maſter Cook, who went dai- ' ly in Velvet or Sattin, with a ' gold Chain, beſides two other Cooks,

Empſon likewiſe acquired a very great Fortune, and lived in great Splendor to the Time of his Fall, at his Houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*, near the King's Palace of *Bridewell*, which the King, upon his Conviction, was pleaſed to give to his Almoner, *Wolſey*. This Preſent muſt have been very conſiderable, becauſe, as is mentioned in the Grant, it had ten Gardens belonging to it. Hiſtorians ſay, the King made *Wolſey* this Preſent, in order to have him near the Court.

The King preſents Empſon's Houſe, &c. to his Almoner.

The next Matter of Conſequence was, the King's marrying *Catherine* of *Arragon*, Prince *Arthur*'s Widow. We have before obſerved what at firſt prevailed on *Hen.* the VIIth to contract his Son *Henry* to this Princeſs. Thoſe who favoured the Lady took the Liberty to urge, 1. That, if the King perſiſted in not marrying her, it might make *Spain* too formidable, and too much expoſe his People to be ill uſed, either by the

Arguments for and againſt the King's Marriage.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'Cooks, and ſix Labourers in 'the ſame Room.

'In the Larder, one Yeoman 'and a Groom; in the Scullery, 'one Yeoman and two Grooms; 'in the Buttery two Yeomen 'and two Grooms; in the Ewry 'ſo many; in the Cellar, three 'Yeoman, three Pages; in the 'Chandlery, two Yeoman; in 'the Wayfary, two Yeoman; 'in the Wardrobe of Beds, 'the Maſter of the Wardrobe, 'and twenty Perſons beſides; in 'the Laundery, a Yeoman and 'a Groom, and thirteen Pages, 'two Yeoman Purveyors, and a 'Groom-Purveyor; in the Bake-'houſe, two Yeoman and 'Grooms; in the Wood-yard 'one Yeoman and a Groom; 'in the Barn, one Yeoman; 'Porters at the Gate, two Yeo-'men, and two Grooms; a 'Yeoman in his Barge, and a 'Maſter of his Horſe; a Clark 'of the Stables, and a Yeoman 'of the ſame; a Farrier, and a 'Yeoman of the Stirrop; a 'Maltſour and ſixteen Grooms, 'every one of them keeping 'four Geldings.

'Now will I declare unto 'you the Officers of his Chap-'ple, and ſinging Men of the 'ſame. Firſt, he had there a 'Dean, a great Divine, and a 'Man of excellent Learning, 'and a Sub-Dean, a Repeator of 'the Quire, a Goſpeller, an 'Epiſtoler of the ſinging Prieſts, 'a Maſter of the Children; in

'the

the *French* or *Spaniards*. 2. That it would be monſtrous to ſend ſo fair a Princeſs back to *Spain*, who, by her diſcreet Behaviour, had greatly gain'd the Good-will of the People. 3. That as it was plain the King would not live long without a Wife, he could not marry better, it being admitted, that ſhe was a Lady of ſtrict Virtue and Piety, of a ſweet Temper and Carriage, not 22 Years of Age, beautiful, and learned in Languages as well as Sciences. 4. That, notwithſtanding her former Marriage, ſhe was ſtill a Maid; and that the Princeſs had more than once, in a private Converſation with ſome of the great Ladies of the Court, declared herſelf on that head. Laſtly, The Scripture was offered in Favour of the Marriage, where it's ſaid, *If Brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no Child, the Wife of the Dead ſhall not marry without unto a Stranger; her Huſband's Brother ſhall go in unto her, and take her to him to Wife, and perform the Duty of an Huſband's Brother unto her.* Deut. xxv. 5.* But

' the Veſtry, a Yeoman, and two ' Grooms, beſides other Retainers that came thither at principal Feaſts.

' And for the Furniture of his ' Chapple, it paſſeth my weak ' Capacity, to declare the Number of the coſtly Ornaments, ' and rich Jewels that were occupied in the ſame; for I have ' ſeen in proceſſion about the ' Hall, forty four rich Copes ' of one ſettle worne, beſides ' the rich Candleſticks, and other neceſſary Ornaments to ' the Furniture of the ſame.

' Now you ſhall underſtand, ' that he had two Croſs-bearers, ' and two Pillar-bearers in his ' great Chamber, and his Privy-' Chamber, all theſe Perſons; ' the Chief-Chamberlain, a Vice-' Chamberlain, a Gentleman-' Uſher, beſide one of his Privy ' Chamber: He had alſo twelve ' Waiters, and ſix Gentlemen ' Waiters: Alſo he had nine or ' ten Lords, who had each of ' them

* The vulgate Bible has it, *Quando habitaverint fratres ſimul, & unus ex eis abſque liberis mortuus fuerit, Uxor defuncti non nubet alteri; ſed accipiet eam frater ejus, & ſuſcitabit ſemen fratris ſui* ——It's true, ſome of our modern Commentators and Tranſlators, have endeavoured to explain away the Meaning of the Word *Frater*, by turning it into *Kinſman*.

But the Opponents argued, that, tho' *Henry* the VIIth at firſt promoted the Match, he afterwards charged his Son to break the Contract, owning, that he was convinced it was unlawful, for which Reaſon the King, when Prince of *Wales*, was from time to time debarred from ſeeing that Princeſs, leſt Affection ſhould riſe from Converſation, which ſometimes grows unmanageable in young People. To this may be added, that, when Prince *Henry* was contracted to this Lady he was ſcarce 14 Years of Age, and, conſequently, too young to hear Debates about Caſes of Conſcience, whether it was lawful or not lawful to marry his Brother's Widow; and therefore what he did relating to the before-mentioned Proteſtation, was done by the Direction of his Father, and not the Reſult of Ill-will to the Princeſs, as ſome would inſinuate.

Theſe different Arguments were ſoon followed by a Memorial preferred by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in Relation

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'them two or three Men to wait 'upon him, except the Earl of 'Darby, who had five Men.

'Then he had Gentlemen-'Cup-bearers, and Carvers, and 'one of the Sewers, both of the 'great Chamber, and of the 'Privy Chamber forty Perſons; 'ſix Yeomen Uſhers, eight 'Grooms of his Chamber: Al-'ſo he had of Alms, who were 'daily Waiters of his Board at 'Dinner, twelve Doctors and 'Chaplains, beſides them of his, 'which I never rehearſed; a 'Clerk of his Cloſet, and two 'Secretaries, and two Clerks of 'his Signet; four Counſellors 'learned in the Law.

'And for that he was Chan-'cellor of *England*, it was ne-'ceſſary to have Officers of the 'Chancery to attend him for the 'better Furniture of the ſame.

'Firſt, he had a Riding 'Clerk, a Clerk of the Crown, 'a Clerk of the Hanaper, 'a Chafer; then had he a 'Clerk of the Check, as well 'upon the Chaplains, as upon 'the Yeomen of the Chamber: 'He had alſo four Footmen gar-'niſhed with rich running Coats, 'whenſoever he had any Jour-'ney: Then he had a Herald 'of Arms, a Serjeant of Arms; 'a Phyſician, and Apothecary; 'four Minſtrels, a Keeper of his 'Tents, an Armourer; an In-'ſtructor of his Wardrobe of 'Robes, a Keeper of his Cham-'ber continually; he had alſo

'in-

Relation to the King's Marriage with the Princeſs; ſo that it now came to be debated in Council, wherein, thoſe who were againſt the Marriage alledged, that a Man's marrying his Brother's Widow was a Thing unheard of among *Chriſtians*; that ſuch a Match was contrary to the Law of God, and therefore it was a Queſtion, whether the Pope had Power to diſpenſe with it. Archbiſhop *Warham* ſtrongly oppoſed the Marriage, and declared, he could not help conſidering ſuch a one as downright inceſtuous: But Biſhop *Fox* was of another Mind, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the Pope's Diſpenſation to be lawful, taking Notice at the ſame Time of the unlimited Power of Chriſt's Vicar; and, as the Pope had granted the Diſpenſation, he thought it enough to ſatisfy the King's Conſcience, more eſpecially as the Princeſs had declared herſelf to be a Maid, and that there was no room to doubt but what ſhe ſaid was true. Upon this the King and Council, much better approving the

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

• in his Houſe a Surveyor of • *York*, a Clerk of the Green- • Cloth. All theſe were daily • attending down-lying, and up- • riſing. And at Meat, he had • eight continual Boards for the • Chamberlains and Gentle- • men Officers, having a Meſs • of young Lords, and another • of Gentlemen: Beſides this, • there was never a Gentleman • or Officer, or other worthy Per- • ſon, but he kept ſome two, ſome • three Perſons to wait upon them; • and all others at the leaſt • had one, which did amount • to a great number of Per- • ſons.

• Now having declared the • Order, according to the Cheyne • Roll of his Houſe, and what • Officers he had daily attending • to furniſh the ſame, beſides • Retainers, and other Perſons • being Suiters dined in the • Hall. And when ſhall we ſee • any more ſuch Subjects that • ſhall keep ſuch a noble Houſe? • Therefore here is an end of • his Houſhold, the Number of • Perſons in the Cheyne were • eight hundred Perſons.

CHAP.

the Arguments offered for the Marriage, than thoſe againſt it, came to a Reſolution that it ſhould be ſolemnized.

Dr. *Fiddes*, in his Account of this Marriage, ſays, "Some have thought that the King married this Lady more out of Reſpect to filial Piety, and for his "Father's firſt Appointment, than for the Devotion "he really had for her. But there was nothing in "the Temper of the King that ſhould induce us to "form ſuch a Judgment of him: It's rather to be believed he acted in this Matter by the Advice of his "Council; and the King, to ſhew he was well pleaſed "with the Reſolution, on the 3d of *March*, "married the Princeſs." *Kennet* ſays, at the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s Houſe in *Fleet-ſtreet*, but *Stow* avers, the King married her in his Cloſet at *Greenwich*, having before declared, that he would not be crowned till it was compleated; and, among other Ceremonies ſuitable to the Occaſion, the

The Marriage ſolemnized.

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

CHAP. VI.

Of his Second Embaſſage to the Emperor Charles *the Vth.*

'WHEN he was thus furniſhed, in Manner 'as I have before rehearſed unto you, he was ſent twice on 'Embaſſage to the Emperor '*Charles* the Vth, that now 'reigneth, and Father to King '*Philip*, now our Lord and Sovereign: Foraſmuch as the 'old Emperor *Maximilian* was 'dead, and for divers other urgent Occaſions touching his 'Majeſty, it was thought fit, 'that about ſuch weighty Matters, and to ſo noble a Prince, 'the Cardinal was moſt meet to 'be ſent on this Embaſſage, 'and he, being one ready to 'take the Charge thereof upon 'him, was furniſhed in every 'reſpect moſt like a great 'Prince, which was much to 'the Honour of his Majeſty, 'and of this Realm: For firſt 'he proceeded forth like to a 'Cardinal, having all Things 'correſpondent; his Gentlemen, 'being very many in Number, 'were cloathed in Livery-coats 'of Crimſon Velvet of the beſt, 'and Chains of Gold about their 'Necks; and his Yeomen, and 'all his mean Officers were clad 'in fine Scarlet guarded with 'black Velvet one Hand breadth. 'Thus furniſhed, he was twice 'ſent

the Bride, tho' a Widow, was dreſſed in *White*, to denote her *Virginity*, which ſhe, and all her Friends aſſerted to the laſt.

A few Days after the Marriage was conſummated the King made twenty four *Knights of the Bath* in the *Tower*; and on the 24th of *June* their Majeſties were crown'd at *Weſtminſter*, by the Hands of *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the utmoſt Magnificence; when the Nobility, both Spiritual and Temporal, paid their Homage: And the People, according to antient Cuſtom, being aſked, *Whether they would receive him for their King?* they unanimouſly cried, with repeated Shouts, *Yea! Yea!*

Their Coronation.

This Ceremony being performed, the King confirmed, to *John* Earl of *Oxford*, the Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, granted to one of his Anceſtors by the Empreſs *Maud*; nominated Sir *Edmund Howard* Standard-bearer; Sir *Thomas Boleyn* Warden

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' ſent in this Manner to the Em-
' peror in *Flanders*, then lying
' at *Bruges*, whom he did moſt
' nobly entertain, diſcharging all
' the Cardinal's Charges, and his
' Men's. There was no Houſe
' in the Town of *Bruges*, where-
' in any one of my Lord's Gen-
' tlemen were lodged, or had re-
' courſe, but that the Owners of
' the Houſes were commanded
' by the Emperor's Officers, up-
' on the Pain of their Lives, to take
' no Money for any Thing the
' Cardinal's Men did take of
' any kind of Victuals; no, al-
' though they were diſpoſed to
' make coſtly Banquets: Further
' commanding their ſaid Hoſts,
' that they ſhould want nothing
' which they honeſtly required,
' or deſired to have.

' Alſo the Emperor's Officers
' every Night went through the
' Town from Houſe to Houſe,
' where any *Engliſhman* had re-
' courſe, or lodged, and ſerved
' their Livery for all Night,
' which was done on this Man-
' ner: Firſt, the Officers brought
' into the Houſe a Caſteele of
' fine Manchet, then two Silver
' Pots of Wine, and a Pound of
' Sugar, white Lights, and yel-
' low Lights, a Bowl of Silver,
' and a Goblet to drink in, and
' every Night a Staff-torch.
' This was the Order of their
' Livery every Night; and in
' the Morning, when the Officers

' came

den of the Exchange at *Calais*; and appointed fifty Gentlemen to be Spear-men, each of them to have an Archer, a Demy Lance, and a Chryſtal; and every Spear-man to have three great Horſe-men Attendants on his Perſon, of which Band the Earl of *Eſſex* was conſtituted *Lieutenant*, and Sir *John Pechie* Captain: But this Band did not hold long, being, ſomewhat like the late King of *Pruſſia*'s tall Grenadiers, very expenſive to maintain, and of little or no Uſe.

Counteſs of Richmond's *Death and Character.*

Some time after the King's Coronation, *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, the King's Grandmother, died, much lamented by the King and the whole Court. This Princeſs was ſo remarkable for her extenſive Charity, that the Publick, by her Death, ſuſtained a very great Loſs.

Cambridge, in particular, will for ever honour her Memory, where ſhe founded two Colleges for that Uni-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'came to fetch away their Stuff, 'they would account for the 'Gentlemen's Coſts the Day be-'fore.

'Thus the Emperor enter-'tained the Cardinal and his 'Train, during the Time of his 'Embaſſy. And, that done, he 'returned into *England* with 'great Triumph, being no leſs 'in Eſtimation with the King 'than he was before, but rather 'much more, for he increaſed 'daily in the King's Favour, by 'reaſon of his Wit and Readi-'neſs to do the King Pleaſure in 'all Things.

'In the one and twentieth 'Year of King *Henry* the 'VIIIth's Reign, *Anno Dom.* '1529, this Emperor, *Charles* 'the Vth, came into *England*, 'who was nobly entertained.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Manner of his Going to Weſtminſter-*Hall.*

'NOW muſt I declare the 'Manner of his going 'to *Weſtminſter*-Hall in the 'Term Time. Firſt, when he 'came out of his Privy Cham-'ber, he moſt commonly heard 'two Maſſes in his Chapel or 'Chamber. And I heard one 'of his Chaplains ſay ſince, 'that 'was a Man of Credit, and ex-'cellent

Univerſity; the one dedicated to our Saviour *Chriſt*, and the other to St. *John*, and endowed them both with large Revenues. Beſides Officers and Servants, there are 200 Students maintained in them. She left likewiſe Lands to both Univerſities, out of the Rents whereof, two Doctors, Profeſſors of Divinity, annually receive Allowances. She was buried near her Son *Henry* the VIIIth, according to the Dignity of ſo great a Perſon, in a fair Tomb of Touchſtone, whereon lies her Image of gilt Braſs. She had no Iſſue by the Earl of *Derby*, her ſecond Huſband, who died in the Year 1504.

Fiſher, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, preached her Funeral Sermon, and threw theſe Flowers upon her Grave.

Concerning her Birth, that ſhe was the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, lineally deſcended from the moſt noble Prince *Edward* the IIId, King of *England*. That ſhe was a ſecond *Martha*, both for her Hoſpitality and Readineſs to do Good; would often

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' cellent Learning) that, what ' Buſineſs ſoever the Cardinal ' had in the Day-time, he ' never went to-bed with any ' part of his Service unſaid; no, ' not ſo much as one Collect, ' in which I think he deceived ' many a Man. Then, going in- ' to his Chamber again, he de- ' manded of ſome of his Ser- ' vants, if they were in readineſs, ' and had furniſhed his Cham- ' ber of Preſence, and waiting ' Chamber; he then, being ad- ' vertiſed, came out of his Pri- ' vy Chamber about eight of ' the Clock, ready apparelled, ' and in red like a Cardinal, ' his upper Veſture was all of ' Scarlet, or elſe of fine Crimſon ' Taffata, or Crimſon Sattin in- ' grained, his Pillion of Scarlet, ' with a black Velvet Tippet of ' Sables about his Neck, hold- ' ing in his Hand an Orange, the ' Meat or Subſtance thereof being ' taken out, and filled again with ' a part of Sponge, with Vinegar ' and other Confections againſt ' peſtilent Airs, the which he ' moſt commonly held to his ' Noſe when he came to the Preſ- ' ſes, or when he was peſtered ' with many Suitors: And be- ' fore him was borne the broad ' Seal of *England*, and the Car- ' dinal's Hat, by ſome Lords, ' or ſome Gentlemen of Wor- ' ſhip right ſolemnly; and as ' ſoon as he was entered into his ' Chamber of Preſence, where ' there were daily attending on ' him

often dreſs the Wounds of poor People with her own Hands, with many other manual Acts of Charity, frequently performed by the greateſt Perſonages in thoſe Days, tho' now much neglected. And, which was very extraordinary, when a Propoſal was made for divers Princes to join in a War againſt the common Enemy of the *Chriſtian* Faith, this Princeſs, to encourage them in ſo glorious an Expedition, offered even herſelf to attend them as a Laundreſs.

The following Epitaph, compoſed by *Eraſmus*, was inſcribed upon her Tomb.

MARGARETAE. RICHE-
MONDIAE. SEPTIMI. HEN-
RICI. MATRI. OCTAVI. AVI-
AE. QUAE. STIPENDIA.
CONSTITVIT. TRIB. HOC.
COENOBIO. MONACHIS.
ET. DOCTORI. GRAMMATI-
CES. APVD. WYMBORN.
PERQ: ANGLIAM TOTAM.
DIVINI. VERBI. PRAECONI.
DVOB. ITEM. INTERPRAE-
TIB: LITERAR: SACRAR:
ALTERI. OXONIIS. AL-
TERI. CANTABRIGIAE
VBI. ET. COLLEGIA. DVO.
CHRISTO. ET. JOANNI.
DISCIPVLO. EIVS. STRVXIT.
MORITVR.
AN. DOMINI
M.D.IX.III. KAL. JVLII.

This

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' him as well Noblemen of this
' Realm, as other worthy Gen-
' tlemen of his own Family,
' his two great Croſſes were
' there attending upon him;
' then cry the Gentlemen Uſhers
' that go before him bare-head-
' ed, *On Maſters before, and*
' *make Room for my Lord!* Thus
' went he down into the Hall,
' with a Serjeant of Arms before
' him, bearing a great Mace of
' Silver, and two Gentlemen
' carrying two great Plates of
' Silver; and, when he came to
' the Hall-door, there his Mule
' ſtood trapped all in Crimſon
' Velvet, with a Saddle of the
' ſame.

' Then was attending him,
' when he was mounted, his two
' Croſs-bearers, his two Pillar-
' bearers, all upon great Horſes,
' all in fine Scarlet; then he
' marched on with a Train of
' Gentry, having four Foot-men
' about him, bearing every one
' of them a Pole-ax in his Hand;
' and thus paſſed he forth till
' he came to *Weſtminſter*, and
' there alighted and went in
' this Manner up to the Chan-
' cery, and ſtaid a while at a
' Bar, made for him beneath
' the Chancery, and there he
' communed ſometimes with
' Judges, and ſometimes with
' other Perſons, and then went
' up to the Chancery, and ſat
' there till eleven of the Clock,

' to

This Princeſs was a great Encourager both of Religious and Learned Men, and from time to time preferred them in her Family, and afterwards recommended them to her Son *Henry* the VIIIth, who generally indulged her Requeſts. Among them *Hugh Oldham*, Dr. in Divinity, and one of this Princeſs's Chaplains, was preferred to the See of *Exeter*; and of her Will ſhe made Sir *John St. John* and others Executors, who faithfully executed the Truſt repoſed in them.

Sir *John* was of a very antient Family, being paternally deſcended from the *Ports*, Lords of *Baſing* in *Hampſhire*, who were great Barons at the Time of the Conqueſt; and by maternal Deſcent he derived the Sur-name of *St. John*, in lineal Succeſſion from *William de St. John*, and entered *England* with *William* (by ſome called) *the Conqueror*.

Sir* *John*'s Mother, *Margaret*, the Relict of Sir *Oliver St. John*, married *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somer-*

'to hear Suits, and to determine Cauſes; and from thence 'he would go into the Star-'chamber as Occaſion ſerved 'him; he neither ſpared High 'nor Low, but did judge 'every one according unto 'Right.

'Every *Sunday* he would re-'ſort to the Court, being at '*Greenwich*, with his former re-'hearſed Train and Triumph, 'taking his Barge at his own 'Stairs, furniſhed with Yeomen 'ſtanding upon the Sails, and 'his Gentlemen within and a-'bout, and landed at the Three 'Cranes in the *Vine-tree*, and 'from

* From this Gentleman, *Henry* Lord Viſcount *St. John*, Lord *St. John* of *Bletſo*, and Sir *Francis St. John*, Bart. are deſcended. The firſt named Lord ſerved his Country in Parliament for the ſpace of 21 Years, and was, on the 2d of *July*, in the 2d of K. *Geo.* I. created Baron *St. John* of *Batterſea*, and Viſcount *St. John*.

Henry, his eldeſt Son by his firſt Lady, was a Gentleman of ſo great Learning and ſprightly Parts, that he had but few Equals in the Kingdom; and, having diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, was made Secretary of War, and one of the Privy Council-

merſet, by whom ſhe had *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* the VIIth, who conferred on him the Honour of Knighthood. Sir *John* died beyond Sea the firſt of *Sept.* in the fourth Year of *Henry* the VIIIth.

The King's Fame, &c. ſpread.

The Fame of the young King's Courage, and Magnanimity of Temper was now ſpread abroad, which ſoon drew over to *England* a great Concourſe of learned Men from different Parts of the World, with Expectations to partake of the King's Liberality and Generoſity; among whom the famous *Eraſmus* was not wanting. And the reigning Princes of *Europe* as uſual, on his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, ſent Ambaſſadors to compliment him, and renew ſeverally the Treaties of Alliance and Commerce, ſubſiſting between them and the late King his Father.

On the other hand, the King ſent Miniſters abroad to the ſeveral Courts, to notify his Acceſſion to the Throne

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' from thence he rode upon his ' Mule with his Croſſes, his Pil- ' lars, his Hat, and his broad ' Seal carried before him on ' Horſeback along *Thames-ſtreet*, ' until he came to *Billingſgate*, ' and there he took his Barge, ' and ſo went to *Greenwich*, ' where he was nobly enter- ' tained of the Lords in the ' King's Houſe, being there with ' Staves in their Hands, as the ' Treaſurer, Comptroller, with ' many others, and conveyed ' into the King's Chamber, and ' ſo went home again in the like ' Triumph.

CHAP.

Council, by her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*; ſome time after he was made Secretary of State, and on the 17th of *July*, 1712, he was created a Baron, and alſo Viſcount *Bolingbroke*; but, in the 1ſt of K. *Geo.* I. he retired Abroad, and his Honours were forfeited by his Attainder. However, his Lordſhip has obtained ſo much Favour, by Act of Parliament, 12 K. *Geo.* I. notwithſtanding his Attainder, to enjoy certain Eſtates, *&c.* in *Great Britain*, and which likewiſe permitted him (after he had continued ſeveral Years in Foreign Parts) to return to his native Country, where we wiſh he may enjoy the Sweets of a quiet Retreat from the troubleſome Affairs of State.

Throne of his renowned Anceſtors, and to give Aſſurances of his Majeſty's Deſire to live in Peace with all his Neighbours.

Archbiſhop Baynbridge *made Ambaſſador at* Rome.

Chriſtopher Baynbridge, Archbiſhop of *York*, who was then at *Rome*, had a Commiſſion ſent him to take upon himſelf the Title of Ambaſſador from *England*, which was very acceptable to the Pope; and we ſhall preſently ſee the Reaſon why the King appointed him as ſuch, it not being uſual for his Predeceſſors to have ever a one reſiding at that Court.

Rapin's *Account of the young King.*

Rapin obſerves, "That the King in the "beginning of his Reign willingly left to "his Council and Miniſters the Care and "Management of his Affairs: As he was at Peace "with his Neighbours, what paſſed in his Kingdom "could not keep him much employed; he thought "more of ſuch Pleaſures and Diverſions as were ſuitable to his Years, than of Application to Buſineſs; "and

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cardinal's Magnificence in his Houſe.

'HE lived a long Seaſon, ruling all Things in this Realm appertaining to the King, by his Wiſdom, and all other Matters of Foreign Regions, with whom the King had any Occaſion to meddle. All Ambaſſadors of foreign Potentates were ever diſpoſed by the Cardinal's Wiſdom, to whom they had continual Acceſs for their Diſpatch.

'His Houſe was always reſorted unto like a King's Houſe, with Noblemen and Gentlemen: And when it pleaſed the King's Majeſty (as many times it did) he would for his Recreation reſort unto the Cardinal's Houſe, againſt whoſe coming there wanted no Preparation of goodly Furnitures, with Victuals of the fineſt ſort that could be had for Money or Friendſhip.

'Such Pleaſures were here deviſed for the King's Delight as could be invented or imagined; Banquets ſet with Maſquers and Mummers, in ſuch coſtly Manner, that it was glorious to behold, there wanting no Damſels meet to dance with the Maſquers, or to garniſh the Place for the Time, with Variety of other Paſtimes.

'Then

" and, as he was naturally liberal, his Entertainments " at Court were very expenſive. The Biſhop of " *Winchester* could not help murmurring to ſee the " Money *laviſhed* without any Neceſſity, which his " deceaſed Maſter had amaſſed with ſo much Care, " Pains, and *Injuſtice*,* in which he had himſelf been " employed; he threw all the Blame upon the Earl " of *Surry*, Lord Treaſurer, who was his Rival in " Favour under the late King, and continued to be " ſo under the preſent King, by gaining the Affec- " tion of his new Maſter, by a *blind* Compliance to " his Will. During *Henry* the VIIth's Life he was " more cloſe, and harder to part with Money than " the King himſelf: However expreſs the Orders " were for Payment, he found Difficulties to evade it, " and by that Means he made his Court admirably " to his Maſter. Being continued in his Poſt in the " preſent Reign, he became quite another Man; he " not

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

' Then was there divers Kinds ' of Muſick, and many choice ' Men and Women-ſingers ap- ' pointed to ſing, who had ex- ' cellent Voices. I have ſeen ' the King come ſuddenly thi- ' ther in a Maſk, with a dozen ' Maſquers all in Garments like ' Shepherds, made of fine Cloth ' of Gold and Silver-wire, and ' ſix Torch bearers, beſides their ' Drummers, and others at- ' tending on them with Vizards, ' and clothed all in Sattin. And ' before his entering into the ' Hall, you ſhall underſtand, ' that he came by Water up to ' the Water-gate without any ' Noiſe, where were laid divers ' Chambers, and Guns charged ' with Shot; and at his Land- ' ing they were diſcharged, ' which made ſuch a rattling ' Noiſe in the Air, that it was ' like Thunder; it made all the ' Noblemen, Gentlemen and ' Ladies to muſe, what it ſhould ' mean coming ſo ſuddenly, ' they ſitting quietly at a Ban- ' quet. In this ſort you ſhall ' underſtand, that the Tables ' were ſet in the Chamber of ' Preſence, covered, and my ' Lord Cardinal ſitting under his ' Cloth of State, and there hav- ' ing all his Service alone. And ' then was there ſet a Lady and ' a Nobleman, a Gentleman and ' a Gentlewoman, throughout all ' the Tables in the Chambers on ' the one ſide, which were made ' all joining as if it were but one ' Table.

* Very kind of Monſieur *Rapin*, in thus charging a King and a Biſhop with *Injuſtice* in the ſame Breath.

" not only paid, without Examination, what ever was " ordered, but alſo put the King upon ſpending *extravagantly*; this gained himſelf the Favour of the " young Prince, who was naturally addicted to *Prodigality*: But the Biſhop of *Winchester* openly " blamed this Conduct, as highly prejudicial to the " King's Intereſt. But he was little regarded in a " Court where every one was ſtriving to make an " Advantage of the Sovereign's liberal Temper. " Mean while his Diſcourſes exaſperated more and " more the Earl of *Surry* and the young Courtiers a- " gainſt him, who never ceaſed to do him ill Offices " with the King. Thus the Biſhop, who was in ſo " great Credit in the late Reign, gradually loſt it in " this. His Diſgrace, which ſat heavy upon his Mind, " threw him upon deviſing Means to ſupplant his " Rival, by introducing, at Court, *Thomas Wolſey*, whoſe Qualifications he was no Stranger " to."

Hiſto-

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' Table. All which Order was ' done by my Lord *Sands*, then ' Lord Chamberlain to the King, ' and by Sir *Henry Guilford*, ' then Comptroller of the King's ' Houſe.

' Then immediately after this ' great Shot of Guns, the Cardinal deſired the Lord Chamberlain to ſee what it did mean, ' as though he knew nothing of ' the Matter: They then looked ' out of Window into the *Thames*, ' and, returning again, told him, ' that they thought they were ' Noblemen and Strangers arrived at the Bridge, and coming as Ambaſſadors from ſome ' Foreign Prince: With that ' ſaid the Cardinal, I deſire you, ' becauſe you can ſpeak *French*, ' to take the Pains to go into ' the Hall, there to receive them ' into the Chamber, where they ' ſhall ſee us, and all thoſe noble Perſonages being merry at ' our Banquet, deſiring them to ' ſit down with us, and take part ' of our Fare.

' Then went they incontinently into the Hall, where they ' were received with twenty ' Torches, and conveyed up into the Chamber, with ſuch a ' Number of Drums and Flutes, ' as I have ſeldom ſeen together ' at one Time and Place.

' Then, at their Arrival into ' the Chamber, they went two ' and two together directly before the Cardinal, where he ' ſat, and ſaluted them very reverently;

Biſhop Fox *recommends Mr. Wolſey to the King.*

Hiſtorians agree, that the Biſhop of *Winchester* could not ſee, without great Uneaſineſs, the Courſe the young King was purſuing in the beginning of his Reign, which made him think of retiring from Court; but then he foreſaw, he ſhould, by ſo doing, ſoon loſe all his Intereſt there, in caſe he could not fall on a Method to check the Deſign of his Rival, the Earl of *Surry*; therefore he (ſeeing the young King from time to time received Mr. *Wolſey* with great Diſtinction) waited on his Majeſty, and in a handſome Speech begged he might be excuſed from a conſtant Attendance at Court, on Account of his Age and Infirmities; which the King was pleaſed to grant. He next took the Opportunity of recommending to his Royal Maſter, in the moſt effectual Manner, Mr. *Wolſey*, as a Miniſter of great Abilities, and fitly qualified for the moſt important Services, which Advice his Majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly; expreſſing at the ſame time, that

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'verently; to whom the Lord 'Chamberlain for them ſaid, For- 'aſmuch as they are Strangers, 'and cannot ſpeak *Engliſh*, they 'have deſired me to declare unto 'you, that they, having underſtand- 'ing at this your triumphant 'Banquet were aſſembled ſuch 'a Number of fair Dames, they 'could do no leſs (under the 'Supportation of your Grace) 'than to view as well their in- 'comparable Beauties, as to ac- 'company them to the Mum- 'chance, and after that to dance 'with them, ſo to beget their 'better Acquaintance.

'And furthermore, they re- 'quire of your Grace Licence 'to accompliſh this Cauſe of 'their Coming.

'When the Cardinal ſaid he 'was willing, and very well 'content they ſhould do ſo.

'Then went the Maſquers, 'and firſt ſaluted all the Dames, 'and then returned to the moſt 'worthieſt, and there opened 'the great Cup of Gold filled 'with Crowns, and other Pieces 'to caſt at.

'Thus peruſing all the Gen- 'tlewomen, of ſome they won, 'and to ſome they loſt. And, 'having viewed all the Ladies, 'they returned to the Cardinal 'with great Reverence, pouring 'down all their Gold, which 'was above two hundred Crowns. '*At all*, quoth the Cardinal, 'and caſting the Dye he won it, 'whereat was made great Joy.

that it was agreeable to his own Sentiments. Thus the Contention, between the Biſhop and the Earl, was one Means of furthering the Promotion of *Wolſey* ſooner than it could be expected; and by this laſt Act the Biſhop retained his Credit at Court; and, tho' he afterwards ſpent a pretty deal of his Time in the Country, yet no Affairs of Importance were for ſeveral Years afterwards reſolved on, without firſt conſulting this great Prelate and Stateſman.

Affairs of Ireland. 1509.

As to *Ireland*, there was nothing very remarkable this Year, except, that the King was pleaſed not only to continue the Earl of *Kildare* in the Government thereof, but to grant him a new Patent to conſtitute him Lord *Juſtice*; and in the Year 1510 he was made *Deputy*. He erected, at his own Expence, a Chapel in *Trinity* Church, *Dublin*, and the People every Day felt the Benefit of his wiſe and prudent Adminiſtration.

Emanuel

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL.

'Then, quoth the Cardinal 'to my Lord Chamberlain, I 'pray you go tell them, that to 'me it ſeemeth that there ſhould 'be a Nobleman amongſt them 'that better deſerves to ſit in 'this Place than I, to whom I 'ſhould gladly ſurrender the 'ſame, according to my Duty, 'if I knew him.

'Then ſpake my Lord Chamberlain to them in *French*, declaring my Lord Cardinal's 'Words, and they rounding him 'again in the Ear, the Lord 'Chamberlain ſaid unto my 'Lord Cardinal:

'Sir, (quoth he) they confeſs, that among them is ſuch 'a noble Perſonage, whom if 'your Grace can point out from 'the reſt, he is contented to 'diſcloſe himſelf, and to accept 'of your Place moſt willingly.

'With that the Cardinal taking good Advice, went a'mongſt them, and at the laſt, '(quoth he) It ſeemeth to me, 'that the Gentleman with the 'black Beard ſhould be he, and 'with that he roſe out of his 'Chair, and offered the ſame to 'the Gentleman with the black 'Beard, with the Cup in his 'Hand: But the Cardinal was 'miſtaken, for the Perſon to 'whom he then offered his 'Chair, was Sir *Edward Nevill*, 'a comely Knight, and of a 'goodly Perſonage, who did more 'reſemble his Majeſty's Perſon, 'than any other in that Maſk.

'The

Emanuel the Ist had been King of *Portugal** fifteen Years, when *Henry* the VIIIth aſcended the Throne of *England*, and continued ſo to the Death of Cardinal *Wolſey*. *Emanuel* was bred up to all Manner of Learning, ſo that he was qualified either for a Divine, or a temporal Prince. When King he ſo devoted himſelf to Religion that the Affairs of his Kingdom exceedingly ſuffered, thro' the evil Adminiſtration of thoſe he had entruſted with the Government. *Affairs of Portugal.* 1509.

The Archbiſhop of *Liſbon*, (a wiſe and good Prelate) foreſeeing that the Kingdom muſt be inevitably ruined, in caſe ſome Steps were not taken to reform the Abuſes and Miſmanagements crept into the Adminiſtration, took the Liberty to repreſent to his Prince the Condition his People was in, which had the deſired Effect; for the King was made ſenſible, that what the Archbiſhop had advanced was Truth, which induced him to take upon himſelf the Government of his People, to enquire into their Grievances, and ſeverely to puniſh

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' The King ſeeing the Cardi-
' nal ſo deceived in his Choice,
' could not forbear Laughing,
' but pulling down his Vizard, and
' Sir *Edward Nevill*'s alſo, with
' ſuch a pleaſant Countenance
' and Cheer, that all the noble
' Eſtates deſired his Highneſs to
' take his Place: To whom the
' King made Anſwer, that he
' would firſt go and ſhift him;
' and thereupon went into the
' Cardinal's Bed-chamber, where
' was a great Fire prepared for
' him;

* The Kingdom of *Portugal* is bounded on the North with the Rivers *Minio* and *Avia*, which part it from *Gallicia* on the South, and on the Weſt with the two *Caſtiles*. From North to South along the Sea Coaſt it contains 400 Miles, in the broadeſt part 100, and in the narroweſt 80 Miles. There are three Archbiſhopricks, *Liſbon*, *Braga*, and *Evora*; ten Biſhopricks with large Revenues; and 1460 Pariſhes. The Provinces of *Portugal* have all their particular Commodities, which produce, among other Things, ſtore of Citrons and excellent Oranges. Their Parliaments aſſemble at *Liſbon* and *Oporto*, Places for the general Receipt of the King's Revenues, and famous for Commerce thro' *Europe*.

puniſh thoſe who had abuſed the Truſt repoſed in them. He next made ſeveral wiſe Laws for the Benefit of his Subjects. Theſe Proceedings ſoon gained him the Affection of his People in general, who ſurnamed him EMANUEL THE GOOD.

Having thus ſettled his Kingdom at home to the Content of his Subjects, he next applied his Mind to the aggrandizing them abroad; for having, as we have before obſerved, had good Succeſs from his Fleet ſent to the *Eaſt Indies*, he next fitted out another for the *Weſt Indies*, and there made Diſcoveries and took Poſſeſſion of the *Braſiles* in *America*. He alſo ſent another towards the *South*, which added to their for-

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' him; and there he new ap-
' parrelled himſelf with rich
' and princely Garments: And,
' in the King's Abſence, the
' Diſhes of the Banquet was
' clean taken away, and the
' Tables covered again with
' new and perfumed Cloths,
' every Man ſitting ſtill until
' the King's Majeſty with his
' Maſquers came in among them,
' every Man new apparrel-
' led.

' Then the King took his
' Seat under the Cloth of Eſ-
' tate, commanding every Per-
' ſon to ſit ſtill as they did be-
' fore; and then came in a new
' Banquet before his Majeſty of
' two hundred Diſhes, and ſo
' they paſſed the Night in Ban-
' queting, and Dancing until
' Morning, which much rejoiced
' the Cardinal to ſee his Sove-
' reign Lord ſo pleaſed at his
' Houſe.

CHAP. IX.

Of the original Inſtrument of the Cardinal's Fall, Miſtreſs Anne Bullen.

' NOW you ſhall under-
' ſtand, that the young
' Lord of *Northumberland* at-
' tended upon my Lord Cardi-
' nal, who, when the Cardinal
' went to Court, would ever
' have Conference with Mrs.
' *Anne Bullen*, who then was
' one of the Maids of Honour
' to Queen *Katherine*, inſomuch
' that at laſt they were contract-
' ed together, which when the
' King heard, he was much
' moved thereat (for he had a
' private Affection to her him-
' ſelf) which was not yet diſco-
' vered

former Acquiſitions the Kingdoms of *Congo* and *Angola*.

The happy Diſcoveries made in the *Eaſt Indies* encouraged him to ſend a more powerful Fleet, and a Body of Land Forces, with Directions to ſettle Plantations there; but, before they could obtain what they deſired, theſe Forces were obliged to diſpute the Ground with both the *Turks* and the *Egyptians*, which were ſo ſucceſsful as to beat both thoſe Enemies, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Iſland of *Ormus* in the *Perſian* Gulph; an Iſland ſo rich and ſo well ſituated, that the *Arabians* uſed to ſay, *If the whole World were a Ring, that would be like a Diamond in it.* Many other Forts and Places upon the Sea-coaſts they likewiſe brought under Subjection, and, having fortified them, returned home richly laden.

Thus

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'vered to any; and then ad-
'viſed the Cardinal to ſend for
'the Earl of *Northumberland* his
'Father, and take Order to
'diſſolve the Contract made be-
'tween the ſaid Parties, which
'the Lord Cardinal did, after a
'ſharp Reprehenſion, in Regard
'he was contracted without the
'King and his Father's Know-
'ledge; he ſent for his Father,
'who came up to *London* very
'ſpeedily, and came firſt to my
'Lord Cardinal, as all great
'Perſonages did, that in ſuch
'ſort were ſent for, of whom
'they were advertiſed of the
'Cauſe of their ſending for:
'And when the Earl was come,
'he was preſently brought to
'the Cardinal into the Gallery.
'After whoſe Meeting, my
'Lord Cardinal and he were in
'ſecret Communication a long
'Space. After their long Diſ-
'courſe, and drinking a Cup of
'Wine, the Earl departed, and
'at his going away, he ſat
'down at the Gallery and in
'the Hall upon a Form, and be-
'ing ſet, called his Son unto
'him, and ſaid,

'*Son* (quoth he) *even as thou*
'*art, and ever haſt been, a proud,*
'*diſdainful, and very unthrifty*
'*Maſter, ſo thou haſt now de-*
'*clared thyſelf; wherefore what*
'*Joy, what Pleaſure, what*
'*Comfort, or what Solace can I*
'*conceive in thee? that thou*
'*without Diſcretion, haſt abuſed*
'*thyſelf, having neither Regard*
'*to me, thy natural Father, nor*
'*unto thy natural Sovereign Lord,*
'*to whom all honeſt and loyal Sub-*
'*jects bear faithful Obedience,*
'*nor yet to the Proſperity of thine*
'*own Eſtate; but haſt ſo unad-*
'*viſedly enſnared thyſelf to her,*
'*for whom thou haſt purchaſed*

'*the*

Thus the Riches of *India*, which before had been brought over the vaſt Deſerts of *Arabia*, upon the Backs of Camels, to *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, and from thence by Sea conveyed to *Venice*, and ſo diſperſed over the *European* Parts of the World, were now brought home by Sea, which was a ſhorter Way, performed much ſooner, and at leſs Expence.

In ſhort, *Emanuel* carefully avoided entering into the Quarrels that aroſe between the other *European* Princes; for, while his Fleets were performing theſe glorious Exploits, in the before unknown Parts of the World, he applied himſelf in keeping his Kingdom in Peace at Home and Abroad; and, being bleſſed with a noble and numerous Iſſue, after having governed his Kingdom 41 Years, with great Glory and Renown, ended his Days at *Liſbon*, about the Year 1535, in the 73d Year of his Age, and was buried, in the Cathedral of that City, among many of his Anceſtors. To ſum up this Prince's Character

‘ *the King's high Diſpleaſure in-*
‘ *tolerable for any Subject to ſuſtain.*
‘ *And, but that the King doth conſi-*
‘ *der the lightneſs of thy Head, and*
‘ *wilful Qualities of thy Perſon, his*
‘ *Diſpleaſure and Indignation were*
‘ *ſufficient to caſt me, and all my*
‘ *Poſterity into utter Ruin and*
‘ *Deſtruction. But he being my ſin-*
‘ *gular good Lord, and favourable*
‘ *Prince, and my Lord Cardinal*
‘ *my very good Friend, hath, and*
‘ *doth clearly excuſe me in thy*
‘ *Lewdneſs, and do rather la-*
‘ *ment thy Folly than malign thee,*
‘ *and hath adviſed an Order to be*
‘ *taken for thee, to whom both I and*
‘ *you are more bound than we con-*
‘ *ceive of, I pray to God, that this*
‘ *may be a ſufficient Admonition unto*
‘ *thee, to uſe thyſelf more wiſely here-*
‘ *after; for aſſure thyſelf, that,*
‘ *if thou doſt not amend thy Prodi-*
‘ *gality, thou wilt be the laſt Earl*
‘ *of our Houſe. For thy natural*
‘ *Inclination, thou art maſterful*
‘ *and prodigal, to conſume all*
‘ *that thy Progenitors have with*
‘ *great Travel gathered and kept*
‘ *together with Honour. But,*
‘ *having the King's Majeſty, my*
‘ *ſingular good Lord, I truſt, I*
‘ *aſſure thee, ſo to order my Suc-*
‘ *ceſſion, that thou ſhalt conſume*
‘ *thereof but a little.*

‘ *For I do not intend (I tell*
‘ *thee) truly to make thee Heir,*
‘ *for (thanks be to God) I have*
‘ *more Boys, than I truſt will uſe*
‘ *themſelves much better, and*
‘ *prove more like to wiſe and ho-*
‘ *neſt Men, of whom I will*
‘ *chooſe*

ter in a Word, the *Portugueſe* Hiſtorians in general ſay, "He ſo lived and ſo ruled his People, that he "deſervedly merited the glorious Title they had "given him, of *Emanuel the Good.*" The Benefits that have accrued to this Nation from thoſe Diſcoveries, and the Trade that has been ſince carried on with *Portugal* by our Merchants, are ſo well known, that they need not be here expreſſed.

Affairs of Spain. 1509.

Cardinal *Ximenes*, whilſt nothing was to be ſeen in *Italy* but one Prince endeavouring to deſtroy another, under the Pretence of Zeal for Religion, and the Glory of God, employed his Time in a more agreeable Manner; for, with his Majeſty's Leave and Aſſiſtance, after the Taking of *Granada*, he converted, by his Preaching, in that City 3000 *Mahometans* in one Day, and among them a Prince of the Blood, whom he alſo baptized. He then ordered all the Books of the *Alcoran* to be brought into the great Market-place, where he burnt them: And

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'*chooſe the moſt likely to ſucceed*
'*me.*

'*Now good Maſters and Gen-*
'*tlemen* (quoth he) *unto us, it may*
'*be your Chances hereafter, when*
'*I am dead, to ſee thoſe Things,*
'*that I have ſpoken to my Son,*
'*prove as true as I now ſpeak*
'*them; yet, in the mean Time, I*
'*deſire you all to be his Friends,*
'*and tell him his Faults in what*
'*he doth amiſs, wherein you ſhall*
'*ſhew your ſelves friendly to*
'*him; and ſo I take my Leave*
'*of you: And Son, go your ways*
'*unto my Lord, your Maſter, and*
'*ſerve him diligently*; and ſo
'parted, and went down into
'the Hall, and ſo took his
'Barge.

'Then, after long and large debating the Matter about the 'Lord *Piercy*'s Aſſurance to 'Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, it was de-'viſed, that the Contract ſhould 'be infringed and diſſolved, 'and that the Lord *Piercy* ſhould 'marry one of the Earl of '*Shrewſbury*'s Daughters; and 'ſo indeed not long after he 'did, whereby the former Con-'tract was broken and diſſolved, 'wherewith Mrs. *Anne* was 'greatly diſpleaſed, promiſing, 'that, if ever it lay in her 'Power, ſhe would do the Car-'dinal ſome Diſpleaſure, which 'ſhe afterwards did. But yet 'he was not altogether to be 'blamed, for he did nothing 'but what the King command-'ed; whereby the Lord *Piercy*

And this Day is ſolemnized yearly in *Spain*, in Commemoration of ſo ſacred a Performance, as they eſteem it.

Ximenes paſſes into Africa and takes Oran.

He then raiſed an Army of ſeven thouſand Men, paſſed over with them himſelf into *Africa*, and took upon him the Command of the Army, Count *Peter Navarro* commanding under him, who was a General of great Experience, and had, by his Generoſity, blotted from the Minds of his Soldiers the Meanneſs of his Birth; for it is confidently affirmed, that he had been Footman to the Cardinal of *Arragon*. He was, tho' but little in Stature, a Man of great Fire, of an active Genius, and well verſed in the Art of War, by the Inſtruction and Example of the famous *Gonſalvo*, under whom he had ſerved in ſeveral Campaigns.

The Cardinal undertook to keep the Army ſix Months, upon Condition he ſhould be repaid, or have

' was charged to avoid her ' Company; and ſo was ſhe for ' ſome time diſcharged the Court, ' and ſent home to her Father, ' whereat ſhe was much trou- ' bled and perplexed. For all ' this time ſhe knew nothing of ' the King's intended Purpoſe. ' But we may ſee when Fortune ' doth begin to frown, how ſhe ' can compaſs a Matter of Diſ- ' pleaſure through a far fetch'd ' Mark. Now therefore of the ' Grudge how it began, that in ' Proceſs of Time wrought the ' Cardinal's utter Deſtruction.

CHAP. X.

Of Miſtreſs Anne Bullen *her Favour with the King.*

' OH Lord, what a great ' God art thou! that ' workeſt thy Wonders ſo ſe- ' cretly that they are not per- ' ceived, until they be brought ' to paſs and finiſhed.

' Attend now, good Reader, ' to this Story following, and ' note every Circumſtance, and ' thou ſhalt at the end perceive ' a wonderful Work of God, ' againſt ſuch as forget him and ' his Benefits.

' Therefore, I ſay, conſider ' after this my Lord *Percy*'s ' troubleſome Buſineſs was over, ' and all Things brought to an ' End, then Miſtreſs *Anne Bullen*

' was

have the Benefit of the Conqueſts ſettled upon his See, which, being agreed to, on the 17th of *May*, *Ximenes*, at the Head of an Army, put the Natives to the Sword, then entered victorious into the Town of *Oran*, (the Keys of which he ſent to his College at *Arcala*) marching in a triumphant Manner, every Clergyman bearing a Trophic-croſs before him, with others after him, and their Swords girt round them upon their Habits.

On his Return to *Spain*, *Ferdinand* met him four Leagues out of *Seville*, alighted to embrace him, and ſhewed him other Tokens of Honour.

In ſome Time after this *Ximenes*, foreſeeing a Dearth was like to overtake the Country, filled four publick Granaries at his own Charge. This won the People's Hearts ſo much, that, to preſerve the Memory of ſuch a Bleſſing, they had it engraved in Marble, and placed it in the Senate-hall and Market-place of *Toledo*, which Action is ſtill in ſo high Veneration, that

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' was again admitted to the Court, ' where ſhe flouriſhed in great ' Eſtimation and Favour, having always a prime Grudge ' againſt my Lord Cardinal, for ' breaking the Contract between ' the Lord *Piercy* and herſelf, ' ſuppoſing it to be his own Deviſe and no others. And ſhe ' at laſt knowing the King's ' Pleaſure, and the Depth of ' his Secrets, then began to look ' very haughtily and ſtout, lacking no manner of rich Apparel, or Jewels that Money ' could purchaſe.

' It was therefore imagined, ' by many through the Court, ' that ſhe, being in ſuch Favour, ' might do much with the King, ' and obtain any Suit of him for ' her Friends. All this while ' being in this Eſtimation in all ' Places, there was no doubt ' but good Queen *Katherine*, ' having this Gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both ' heard by Report, and ſaw ' with her Eyes how all Things ' tended againſt her good Ladyſhip, although ſhe ſeemed ' neither to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, ' nor the King, to carry any ' ſpark of Diſcontent, or Diſpleaſure, but accepted all ' Things in good Part, and with ' great Wiſdom, and much Patience diſſembled the ſame, ' having Mrs. *Anne Bullen* in ' more Eſtimation for the King's ' Sake, then when ſhe was with ' her before, declaring herſelf

that once a Year a publick Oration is pronounced in Commendation thereof.

Next he caused a Fountain of clear Water to be brought through divers Rocks and Mountains to the Town of *Torrelaguna*, which cost him a Million of Gold.

Then *Ferdinand* made him Governor of *Castile*, in the Absence of his Grandson *Charles*, who was proclaimed King thereof, tho' his Mother was alive. But the Cardinal was opposed by some of the Nobility, who asked him, *by what Power he acted as Governor?* Whereupon he shewed them some of the Army that were his ordinary Guards, and said, *The Power he had to execute his Authority, under his Sovereign, consisted in them.* Then, shaking his Cord of St. *Francis*'s Order, he said, *That was enough to bring haughty Subjects to Reason:* At the same Time he got some Canons fired, and a Salvo of Firelocks; concluding in these Words, " *Hæc est ultima ratio Regis*;" which put an end to that Inquiry.

In

The SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' indeed to be a very patient ' *Grissel*, as by her long Patience ' in all her Troubles shall hereafter more plainly appear.

' For the King was now so ' enamoured of this young Gentlewoman, that he knew not ' how sufficiently to advance ' her.

' This being perceived by all the great Lords of the Court, ' who bore a secret Grudge against my Lord Cardinal, for ' that they could not rule in ' the Kingdom as they would ' for him, because he was *Dominus fac totum* with the King, ' and ruled as well the great ' Lords, as the mean Subjects; ' whereat they took an Occasion to work him out of the ' King's Favour, and consequently themselves into more ' Estimation.

' And after a long and secret ' Consultation with themselves, ' how to bring this Matter to ' pass, they knew very well that ' it was somewhat difficult for ' them to do absolutely themselves: Wherefore, they perceiving the great Affection and ' Love the King bore to Mrs. ' *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their ' Judgments, that she would be ' a fit Instrument to bring their ' Intentions to pass, therefore ' they often consulted with her ' to that Purpose; and she having both a very good Wit, and ' also an inward Grudge and ' Displeasure against my Lord

' Cardinal,

In ſhort, what *Ximenes* had done in *Africa* ſeemed ſo very acceptable to *Ferdinand*, that he declared, he would make an Expedition into that Part of the World in Perſon, and which he pretended he ſhould do for the ſake of the *Chriſtian Religion*; but, notwithſtanding all his fine Pretences, he never put them in Execution.

Affairs of Italy. 1509.

The Loſs of the Battle of *Agnadel*, and other unforeſeen Accidents, reduced the *Venetians* almoſt to Deſpair. Had this renowned Republick as firmly believed themſelves, as they were poſitive in affirming it to others, that their Lakes ſerved for an almoſt irreſiſtable Defence to their City, all their Fears of a Siege would have vaniſhed; but the Meaſures they took after the Battle of *Agnadel* proved the contrary, for they ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *Spain*, deſiring Peace; and *Anton. Juſtiniani* was diſpatched on the ſame Errand to the Emperor.

The

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

‘ Cardinal, was ever ready to ‘ accompliſh their Deſires, as ‘ they were themſelves; where‘ fore there was no more to do, ‘ but only to imagine an Occa‘ ſion to work their Malice ‘ by ſome pretended Circum‘ ſtances. Then did they dai‘ ly invent divers Deviſes how ‘ to effect their Purpoſe, but ‘ the Enterprize thereof was ſo ‘ dangerous, that though they ‘ would fain have attempted the ‘ Matter with the King, yet ‘ durſt they not, for they ‘ knew the great Zeal the ‘ King did bear unto the Car‘ dinal; and this they knew ‘ very well, that if the Matter ‘ they ſhould propound againſt ‘ him was not grounded upon a ‘ juſt and urgent Cauſe, the ‘ King's Love was ſuch towards ‘ him, and his Wit ſuch with‘ al, that he could with his Po‘ licy vanquiſh all their Enter‘ prizes, and then after that re‘ quite them in the like Nature, ‘ to their utter Ruin.

‘ Therefore they were com‘ pelled to forbear their Plots, ‘ till they might have ſome bet‘ ter Ground to work upon. ‘ And now the Cardinal, ſeeing ‘ the great Zeal the King bore ‘ to this Gentlewoman, framed ‘ himſelf to pleaſe her, as well ‘ as the King. To that end ‘ therefore he prepares great ‘ Banquets and Feaſts to enter‘ tain the King and her at his ‘ own Houſe; ſhe all this while

‘ diſſembling

Juſtiniani's famous Speech in Behalf of the Venetians.

The Speech this Miniſter made to *Maximilian* has been the Subject of ſo much Diſpute, that it induces us to give the Reader a Tranſlation from the original *Latin*.

" It was with juſt Reaſons that the Antients maintained, that the greateſt and moſt glorious of all " Victories was that which a Man obtained over " himſelf: The Laurels ſuch a Victory give never " fade, and the Luſtre they caſt on the Brows that " wear them far exceeds that of triumphant Crowns " and Diadems. *Scipio Africanus* is more extolled " for overcoming himſelf, than for ſubduing *Carthage*, " and conquering *Africa:* It was by this tranſcendant " Conqueſt that *Alexander*, a little *Macedonian* King, " raiſed his Glory above all the Kings that had been " before him. The Vows which *Darius* made for " *Alexander* his Enemy, and which reflect more Ho- " nour on that Conqueror than all his brighteſt Vic- " tories, were purely owing to his Moderation. The " unfortunate King of *Perſia*, ſtruck with the Cle- " mency which *Alexander* ſhewed to his Queen and " Family, whom Victory had given the abſolute " Diſpoſal of, ſtretched out his Hands to Heaven, " and earneſtly implored, That, ſince it was not the " Will of the Gods the Crown of *Perſia* ſhould re- " main on his Head, it might be put on that of ſo " gentle an Enemy, and ſo generous a Conqueror. " The great *Ceſar*, the firſt of your Predeceſſors, " whoſe Virtues as well as Fortunes you inherit, was, " for his Generoſity and forgetting of Injuries, juſt- " ly

' diſſembling the ſecret Grudge ' in her Breaſt. Now the Car- ' dinal began to grow into won- ' derful Inventions, not heard of ' before in *England*, and the ' Love, between this glorious ' Lady and the King, grew to ' ſuch Perfection, that divers ' Things were imagined, where- ' of I forbear here to ſpeak, ' until I come to a proper ' Place.

" ly honoured with a Place among the Gods. The " *Romans*, whoſe Succeſſor you alone now are, and " whoſe Majeſty reſides in your Perſon, had no o- " ther bounds to their Empire than thoſe of the then " known World, yet the Kindneſs and Moderation, " the Juſtice and Impartiality of that People, gained " them more Subjects than the Valour of their Troops, " and the Bravery and Conduct of their Generals.

" The Fate of *Venice* is in your Hands, if you " will reflect on the Frailty of human Greatneſs, " if you will uſe with Indulgence the Power that " Fortune has given you, if you will prefer that real " and ſolid Glory, which you may laſtingly obtain " by giving us Peace, to the Uncertainty of glittering " Victories, what room can their be left for doubt- " ing, that the Name of *Maximilian* will be for ever " had in the higheſt Veneration, and be inrolled a- " mong thoſe illuſtrious Perſons who can never be " named without the moſt ardent Reſpect. It were " needleſs to have Recourſe to former Times for " Evidence to prove the Inconſtancy of Fortune, or " the Uncertainty of Events, or to demonſtrate to " how many Changes, to what hidden and unforeſeen " Dangers and Accidents every Thing, that may be " called a human Settlement, is liable. The miſera- " ble and diſconſolate Condition of the Republick of " *Venice* does more than ſufficiently prove it. Not " many Days have paſſed ſince that rich, powerful, " and illuſtrious State, reverenced by its Neighbours, " and extolled by diſtant Nations, was the Admira- " tion and the Aſtoniſhment of the whole World: " To Day, this very Republick, by the Loſs of one " Battle, by receiving one ſlight Blow, is ſunk into " ſuch a State of Miſery and Contempt, and ſo altered " and deformed are its Looks, that neither Friends " nor Foes can eaſily know it. Its Glory is tarniſh- " ed, its Dominions are torn in Pieces; it is at a " Loſs for every Thing, and now ſeems to have

" forgot,

" forgot, that, for a long time, it was a warlike " and victorious State. But the *French* are widely " out in their Accounts, if they reckon our Ruin is " owing to their Arms. It is well known how our " Anceſtors, during a long Courſe of ſeveral Wars, " eſpecially that they maintained for many Years " againſt that powerful Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, ſuſ- " tained Loſſes greater than the Defeat of their Ar- " my at *Vaila*,* without being daunted, and bore up " againſt greater Misfortunes than that, without ſink- " ing under them. We ſhould have recovered our- " ſelves again after this Fall, as our Anceſtors have " done in the like Caſe; like them we ſhould have " bent down thoſe that made us trip, had we not " been cruſhed to Pieces by the immenſe Greatneſs " of your Imperial Majeſty. Our Ruin is compleated " by the Valour of that Nation which you lead on " againſt us; no hopes of Victory are now left us; " nor can we flatter ourſelves ſo far as to fancy, that " we ſhall ever dare to diſpute the Combat again. " We muſt lay down our Arms as too heavy for our " Hands, and look for our Safety no where, but in " the Humanity and Goodneſs of one of the lively " Images of the God of Mercy. In the Name of " the Doge, of the great Council, and of the Peo- " of *Venice*, I do humbly beg, ſupplicate, and crave " your Majeſty to caſt an Eye of Pity on us, and to " ſtretch out a charitable Hand to our afflicted and " inconſolable State. Preſcribe what Conditions of " Peace you pleaſe, we will readily ſubſcribe them; " nay more, we will hold and repute them juſt and " honourable, and as ſuch we will obſerve them. " Were we worthy to pronounce our own Sentence, " we would readily abandon all the Encroachments " and Uſurpations our Anceſtors ever made, either " in the Empire, or in your hereditary Countries; " and, to the end theſe Offers may be the more ſuit-

" able

* The *French* call it *Agnadel*.

" able to our preſent Circumſtances, we are willing
" to add all that the Republick has poſſeſſed on the
" *Terra Firma*, and whatever Right and Title we had
" to thoſe Dominions ſhall be reſigned to your Ma-
" jeſty, as to our rightful Lord and Sovereign. We
" will pay every Year, to your Majeſty and your Suc-
" ceſſors, a Tribute of 50,000 Crowns of Gold.
" Finally, it is our full Purpoſe and Reſolution to
" give entire Obedience to your Commands, Laws,
" Decrees, and Ordinances. All the Return we
" deſire is only to defend and protect us from the
" Inſolence of thoſe who were lately our Allies, but
" now our moſt mortal Enemies; they having no-
" thing leſs in their View, than burying us and
" our Name in perpetual Oblivion. Would you
" ſhelter and protect us from their mercileſs Hands,
" we ſhould ever look upon you as our Father and
" the Preſerver of our City, and always own ourſelves
" your People; our Annals ſhall be filled with your
" Praiſes, and our Children ſhall be taught early to
" ſing them.

" It would be no ſmall Addition to your Re-
" nown, to have it ſaid, that you were the firſt
" Prince that ever obliged the *Venetians* humbly to
" implore your Favour and Protection; and that the
" firſt time they ever Struck and lowered their
" Haughtineſs was to you. We reverence you;
" we eſteem you our Guardian Angel. Had the
" Almighty freed our Anceſtors from that fatal Itch
" of meddling in the Affairs of Princes, our Repub-
" lick, inſtead of that Ignomy it now labours under,
" might this Day have eclipſed the Glory of all
" others; but thoſe Treaſures of Glory, we had
" been heaping up during a Series of ſo many Vic-
" tories, are all vaniſhed in a Moment, and we are
" become the Contempt and Scorn of other Na-
" tions.

" But, to conclude, I once more beg Leave to " ſay, that it is in your Power, great Sir, by ex- " cuſing and pardoning your poor *Venetians*, to a- " dorn your ſacred Head with more verdant and " laſting Laurels, than ever Conqueror did by his " brighteſt Victories; the Glory now in your Power " to cloath yourſelf with will paſs down to the lateſt " Poſterity without any Diminution, being above the " Reach of, and independant on, any Accident. Suc- " ceeding Ages will celebrate you as the moſt gra- " cious of all Princes, and, as ſuch, will raiſe your " Memory above that of any Mortal: As for us, " we will eternally ſound your Praiſe, and, muſt e- " ver gratefully own, that it is to the Greatneſs of " *Maximilian*'s Soul that we owe our Breath, and " are ſtill of the Number of the Living."

This Speech not only demonſtrates, that the *Venetians* deſpaired of ſaving their Republick from Ruin, but alſo affords fair and conſiderable Pretenſions for the Empire in general, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* in particular, to the ſtricteſt *Friendſhip* from that Republick; and, if we ſhould ſay *Fealty* too, we believe it would be no Error. Hence it is, that the *Venetian* Hiſtorians would perſuade the World, that this Speech was foiſted upon them, and cry loudly againſt *Guicciardin*, as the Author and Forger of it. But, that Author aſſures us, he writes nothing but Truth, and poſitively declares this Piece to be authentick, and delivered by him without any other Alteration, than that of turning into *Italian*, what *Juſtiniani* delivered in *Latin*; tho' *Gion Baptiſta Leoni* has took great Pains to invalidate the Veracity of *Guicciardin*'s Relation.

The *Venetians* alſo ſent the Cardinals *Grimini* and *Cornaro* to attend his Holineſs, who, being admitted to an Audience, requeſted, in the moſt reſpectful Terms, in the Name of their Country, a Remiſſion of their Cenſures, on the Republick's having

having reſtored, within the Term of twenty four Days, all they had poſſeſſed belonging to the Church.

Julius received them with a good deal of Diſdain, ſtiffly denied their Requeſt, and abſolutely refuſed to ſuffer the Six Ambaſſadors to come into his Preſence, whom the Republick had ſent to aſſiſt the Cardinals upon this Occaſion, alledging, "That the *Venetians* had "not offered the Satisfaction due to him; that, be- "ſides the Territories of the Church, which they had "unjuſtly poſſeſſed themſelves of, they ought to have "reſtored all the Fruits and Profits of them, which "they had received during their Poſſeſſion; that, for "the full Accompliſhment of this Monitory, they muſt "further give Satisfaction for the inconſiderate At- "tempts they had made upon the Eccleſiaſtical Ju- "riſdiction; and that they were not to expect any In- "dulgence or Relief from *Rome*, till they had execu- "ted the Conditions of his Bull in every Point."

The Venetians *receive bad News from their Miniſters.*

In ſhort, the Senate received in one Day not only the mortifying News that their Ambaſſadors they had ſent both to the King of *Spain* and the Emperor, were returning home without ſucceeding in their Commiſſions, and alſo an Account of what had paſſed at *Rome*.

Bembo tells us, that the Senate were ſo touched with the Pope's Behaviour, that they flew out into the moſt bitter Invectives againſt him. *Mark Loredano*, the Doge's Son, moved, in the Senate, "To "ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Ottoman* Court, to requeſt "Succour and Aſſiſtance againſt the Pope." And his Motion was ſo much applauded by many of the Senators, that he had like to have carried it, had not ſome of the wiſer Sort mitigated Matters, and brought their Brethren into a cooler Way of thinking, (which proved the Safety of this Republick) and at laſt, Paſſion and Heat being baniſhed from that Body,

they came to Reſolutions equal to the Emergency, with the greateſt Integrity, Speed and Secrecy; and the Execution of them, tho' often committed to Perſons that had given their Opinions againſt them, was performed with Fidelity and Expedition; particularly, they one and all agreed, however mortifying it might be, to give the Pope all the Satisfaction he demanded, which they thought, as Affairs then ſtood, was their wiſeſt Courſe to take: And therefore the Doge, ſent Letters to his Holineſs, expreſſing an entire Submiſſion without Reſerve. "He begged "that the Ambaſſadors, ſent to humbly implore "Abſolution from the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures they had "incurred, might have the Honour to kiſs his Feet, "and give him the utmoſt Acknowledgment he "could deſire."

The Pope favours the Venetians.

Theſe Letters had the deſired Effect, and was the Cauſe of abating his Reſentment, and bringing him to reflect on the dangerous Conſequences of the League he had formed which put him upon anſwering the Doge's Letters in a Strain becoming a relenting Father to a penitent Son, and calling a Conſiſtory, wherein he propoſed the Admiſſion of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, and ſpoke of that Republick in Terms contrary to the Strain he had before uſed; and all the Cardinals greatly commended his Holineſs's Lenity.

In the mean time *Eaynbridge*, Archbiſhop of *York*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, was very diligent to gain from the Pope what the *Venetians* had ſo much at Heart: His Holineſs ſhewed ſo much Deference for this Miniſter, that at his Inſtance he was prevailed with to refuſe *Maximilian* the Gallies of the Church, which he demanded in order to make an Attempt upon the City of *Venice*, (having *Lewis*'s Conſent to employ the *French* Troops in that Siege) which Refuſal ſeems to have been partly the Preſervation of that Republick.

The

The Pope's Change of Behaviour put new Life into the *Venetians*, and made them begin to raiſe up their Heads again: And, certain it is, that great Afflictions make ſmall Comforts very acceptable.

Maximilian continues to ſit quite eaſy at Trent.

All this while inglorious *Maximilian* reſided at *Trent*, full of Indolence and Security; perſuading himſelf, that his Allies would take care to preſerve thoſe Conqueſts they had made for him; and therefore thought it enough to ſend Governours to the conquered Places with but a handful of Men, as we have before related; and theſe Officers, tho' weakly backed, had the Folly to commit cruel Extortions every Day. The People of *Padua* were the firſt that privately ſhewed their Deſire of returning to their Obedience under their old Maſters; which was no ſooner known at *Venice*, but the Senate met to conſider of ſome Method to aſſiſt them: The Doge, *Loredano*, vigorouſly oppoſed this Enterprize,* by repreſenting, "how "imprudent it would be, by any dan- "gerous Attempt, to provoke an Ene- "my they were in no Condition to oppoſe;" and *la Molino* warmly pleaded for the Attempt, with whom the Senate agreed: And it may juſtly be ſaid, that it is to this noble *Venetian* the Republick owes all they now poſſeſs in *Italy*, except the Dogade. *Andrew Gritti* took upon himſelf the Charge of this Expedition, and marched directly to *Padua*, with an Army of 5000 Foot, 400 Men at Arms, and 2000 *Albanians*, and, on the 18th Day of *June*, he became Maſter of the Place by the Favour of the Inhabitants. This happy Succeſs produced incredible Raptures of Joy in *Venice*; in every Church they returned publick Thanks to the Almighty; (and they ſtill con-

The Venetians *take* Padua *by Surprize.*

* The Sequel ſhews this Nobleman was as much miſtaken in his Objection, as his Son was in his Motion, when he was for their applying to the *Ottoman* Port for Aſſiſtance againſt the Pope.

continue to repeat the ſame, and make great Rejoicings yearly on that Day) Trade and Commerce began to be renewed, and the publick as well as private Credit was thereby reſtored.

The *Venetians*, having poſſeſſed themſelves of this gallant City, the Territory belonging to it came of courſe under their Obedience. They likewiſe found Means to recover *Legnago*, which gave them free Paſſage over the *Adige*.

The Senate make a noble Act.

This Succeſs induced the Senate to make a noble-ſpirited Act, by which they obliged themſelves to exempt their faithful Subjects from all publick Charges, and to make good all the Loſſes they had ſuſtained, or ſhould ſuſtain, during the preſent War.

But, ſoon after the *Venetians* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Padua*, *Maximilian* arrived in *Lombardy*, with ſuch a Number of Troops as would have rendered their Deſign impracticable, had they not luckily been beforehand of heavy Genius.

Lewis XII directs his General to obey the Emperor's Orders.

Lewis the XIIth conſtituted Monſieur *la Paliſſe*, Commander of the Forces in *Milan* (in the Abſence of Marſhal *Chaumont*, the Governor) with Direction to obey ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from the *Emperor*, and to uſe his utmoſt Diligence for the common Intereſt of all the Parties joined in the League. This Officer employed himſelf in preſerving *Vicenza* and *Verona* for *Maximilian*; but the Inhabitants invited the *Venetians* to come to their Aſſiſtance, and take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Places: To prevent this *la Paliſſe* came up in time with his Troops, fruſtrated their Deſigns, and obliged the *Venetian* Army, which had taken the Field upon this Occaſion, retire under the Walls of *Padua*.

The Mortification, this Diſappointment gave the *Venetians*, was quickly recompenced by another Incident that gave them much Pleaſure, which was this:

The

The Marquiſs of *Mantua* (who had been one of their Commanders, but diſhonourably deſerted them) was going to join the *French*, and incamped at *Iſola della Scala*, without either Watch or Guard, believing himſelf far enough from the Enemy, to need any of the uſual military Precautions. Hearing this, the Garriſon of *Legnago* marched out, ſurprized his little Army, and made them Priſoners; but the Marquiſs made his Eſcape by the Favour of the Night, and hid himſelf ſo ſnug in a Field of Corn, that the Garriſon thought it in vain to look after him: However, applying himſelf to a Country Fellow for a Guide, to conduct him to *Verona*, he was betrayed, and carried in Triumph to *Venice*.

The Venetians *take the Marquiſs of* Mantua *Priſoner.*

The Emperor ſeemed very eaſy under the Loſs of *Padua*, comforting himſelf with a Project he had laid of beſieging it; the Taking of which Place would put him in a Condition to make other Attempts againſt *Venice*: For that Purpoſe he marched for the *Vicentine*, depending on the Fidelity of that People, who had lately ſworn Allegiance to him; but he found himſelf obliged to diſpute every Step, for the Country People had taken Arms, and ſo planted themſelves, as that his Men were atttacked in Front, Flank, and Rear; ſo that many of them deſerted, having no Stomach to fight in a Country, where they had no Proſpect of Plunder. However, at laſt his Imperial Majeſty arrived in the *Vicentine*, with his Army very much weakned and diminiſhed; and here *Maximilian* halted to refreſh the Remainder of his Forces, and were joined by ſome *French* and *Spaniſh* Troops.

The Emperor reſolves to beſiege Padua.

In the mean time the Count *de Pitigliano*, General of the *Venetian* Army, was appointed Governor of *Padua*,

Pitigliano *made Governor of* Padua.

and

and no leſs a Garriſon was put into that Place than the whole Army of the Republick, with the Addition of a conſiderable Number of the beſt Militia; ſo that the Garriſon conſiſted of near 25,000 Men; it was furniſhed with all Manner of Stores and Proviſions; all the Trades People were employed to work at the Fortifications, and every one was allowed to give in his Scheme of the Expedients he thought beſt, for defending and ſaving *Padua*; and the Meaſures and Conduct of the Doge at that Time were not unworthy a *Roman*.

The *Venetian* Hiſtorians are full of Speeches, made in the Senate, relating to the beſt Method of defending *Padua*, but moſt of them are ſo extravagant, that we did not think them worth inſerting: And it's generally allowed, that the Hiſtorians of the 15th Century, with a Deſign to embelliſh their Performances, have put a great Variety of ſuch Speeches into the Mouths of their Heroes.

The Doge ſends his Sons thither.

However, this is certain, that the Doge, *Loredano*, was as forward now to defend *Padua*, as he was before for not attempting to take it; he, in a ſet Speech, begged of the Senate, that his Sons might be allowed to ſhut themſelves up in *Padua*, and his Requeſt was received with great Satisfaction; and 300 of the young Nobility, being fired with martial Emulation, obtained Permiſſion alſo to accompany the Doge's Sons, which they did accordingly.

The Emperor arrives near Padua.

All Things being thus provided for the Defence of *Padua*, at laſt the Emperor came and encamped within three Miles of it, and firſt tried, tho' in vain, to divert the Courſe of the River *Brente*, the Engineers having miſtaken the Level; for the Channel of the River was found to be lower than the neighbouring Ground, thro' which they intended to turn its Courſe. The whole Artillery being come, he

he advanced and encamped before *Padua*, which he could not inveſt, becauſe of the large Compaſs of the Place. *Maximilian* had not a ſufficient Army for his Enterprize; for, including the Troops of the *French* and *Spaniards*, he could not reckon above 1700 Men at Arms, and 32,000 Foot; tho' his Train of Artillery was very fine, and well appointed.

The firſt Batteries he raiſed were over-againſt thoſe Works that lay next to the Gate of the *Holy Croſs*, believing that to be the weakeſt Part, as indeed it was, ſome time before the Siege; but the Beſieged had, for that Reaſon, made it the ſtrongeſt, as the Emperor's Forces found it: Beſides, from the Works they had raiſed upon the Flanks, they fired ſo furiouſly on the Attacks, that the Beſiegers were forced to alter their Deſign. On a Conſultation held, the Emperor thought it adviſeable to remove the Attack from thence to the Baſtion, next to *Venice-Gate*; but the Strength of the Garriſon, and the Nature of the Ground about it, made their Approaches of very little Effect, and gave them no ſmall Trouble; there being ſo many Springs, their Works were full of Water before they could finiſh them; and the frequent Sallies the Beſieged made, and the more frequent Alarms they gave the Enemy, often obliged the Pioneers, and others that wrought in the Trenches, to abandon their Works, and run to their Arms. *Padua beſieged.*

In ſhort, no Day paſſed without Action; the Light-horſe of the Beſieged had the Boldneſs to enter the Enemy's Camp and carry off Priſoners; inſomuch that, if the *Venetian* Hiſtorians may be credited, ſuch was the Nature of that Siege, and ſo great was the Variety of the Motions while it laſted, that no Hand leſs than that of *Titus Livius*, who was born in the Place, was able to write the Hiſtory of it. *T. Livius born at Padua.*

The Baſtion, that the Beſiegers had attacked, was now laid quite open, ſo that in a Council of War it was agreed to make a general Aſſault: The *Germans*, the *French*, and the *Spaniards* mounted the Breaches in three different Bodies, and the Aſſaults were very terrible, and in a little time the Emperor ſaw his Colours planted on the Baſtion; but the Artillery of the Place having full Command of the backſide of the Works, and the Garriſon making a vigorous Reſiſtance, the Beſiegers were at laſt repulſed with conſiderable Loſs.

The Siege raiſed, and the Emperor retires into Germany.

Maximilian, being a Man who ſoon grew weary of any Enterprize, and who could not wait long for Succeſs, upon this Diſappointment loſt Heart, raiſed the Siege 16 Days after the opening of the Trenches, and retired to *Vicenza*; from whence, having diſbanded his Army, he went to *Verona*, and from thence proceeded to *Germany*, without taking any other Methods for the Preſervation of his new Acquiſitions, than leaving the Margrave of *Brandenburg* with ſome Troops at *Verona*.

Theſe Meaſures did not at all ſuit the preſent Conjuncture, but the Emperor, according to his uſual Politicks, reckoned that all his Neglects would be ſufficiently ſupplied by the Favour of Fortune, and the Diligence of his Allies.

The Venetians *became Maſters of* Vicenza.

Before he had gotten as far as *Trent* he ſaw the Effect of his Indolence; for the *Venetians* ſoon became Maſters of *Vicenza*, upon the Invitation of the Inhabitants; and *Verona* would have followed their Example, had not the *French* General, with great Expedition, throwed 300 *French* Gendarmes into the Place. It was not in *Lombardy* only that the Campaign ended happily for the *Venetians*, for they retook ſeveral Places in *Friuli* and *Iſtria*; they alſo attempted *Ferrara*, which, tho' it proved unſuc-

ceſsful,

ceſsful, was no leſs for the Reputation of their Arms, than their former Advantages; for, by that Attempt, they ſhewed to all *Europe*, who believed their Republick to be at its laſt Gaſp, that they had not only Forces ſufficient to defend themſelves, but to attack others.

Before this Year expired a Difference aroſe between *Lewis* and his Holineſs, about the Nomination to vacant Biſhopricks in the *French* Dominions, which was ſoon ſettled, they readily agreeing, 'That the 'Pope ſhould prefer thoſe he thought fit to ſuch 'Sees as were then vacant, but for the future 'ſhould collate none but upon the King's Preſentation.' But this Agreement was one of the Cauſes of the Quarrel that ſoon followed between his Holineſs and *Lewis*, and produced thoſe uncommon Events, conſequent of the memorable League of *Cambray*: And ſuch was the Uneaſineſs of the Pope at this time, that he could not ſee, without great Concern, *Maximilian* and *Lewis* ſo cloſely united, eſpecially as the *French* King was ſo firmly ſettled in the Dutchy of *Milan*, from whence it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge him; nor did the Emperor give him leſs Uneaſineſs, ſince he had Entrance into *Italy* through *Verona*, and other Places he had got by this War; nor did he know what to make of the powerful Aid the *French* ſent the Emperor, to compleat the Ruin of the *Venetians*: He alſo was under much Anxiety, leſt theſe two Monarchs had made a private Treaty to ſhare all *Italy* between them; and, for fear it ſhould be ſo, began to conſider how he could withſtand ſuch formidable Powers thus united, inaſmuch as *Venice* was much weakened, and the King of *Spain* was not to be depended on, who knew but too well how to make uſe of all Treaties for his own Benefit. Notwithſtanding all theſe Difficulties his Holineſs deſpaired not, but reſumed his Project of agreeing with the *Venetians*; of taking

Ferdinand off from the League of *Cambray*, by inveſting him with *Naples*; of uſing his beſt Endeavours to ſet the Emperor and the King of *France* at Variance; of bringing a *Swiſs* Army into the *Milaneſe*; and of perſuading *Henry* the VIIIth to make a Diverſion in *France*, that he might have the Opportunity of driving the *French* out of *Italy*; and how far he ſucceeded in theſe different Points muſt be poſtponed a while, becauſe here we think proper to end the Year 1509.

Affairs of Italy. 1510.

THIS Year was opened with the *Venetians* renewing, with greater Ardour than before, the Negotiation at *Rome*; but *Lewis* the XIIth left no Art uneſſayed to prevent their ſucceeding, and ſent *Albert* Count *de Carpi* thither to aſſiſt the Cardinal *de Auſch*, who had the Management of his Affairs at that Court, whoſe Inſtructions were to make the Pope ſuch Offers, as he thought could not fail of being agreeable; to acquaint his Holineſs, that the King, being fully reſolved to be guided by his Council, humbly requeſted to know, Whether he ſhould make an Expedition into *Italy* this Year for promoting the common Intereſt? and to aſſure him, that he deſired nothing more than the ſtrict Obſervation of the Treaties that were ſtill ſubſiſting.

But after all the Count *de Carpi*'s Induſtry and Addreſs, who was eminent for that Faculty, he was not able to incline the Pope to *French* Meaſures, his Holineſs being too far advanced in his Opinion, that it was his Intereſt to retreat in his Alliance with *Lewis* as ſoon as with Safety he could; ſo that all the King got by the Journey of his Count to *Rome*, was to have him and the Cardinal Witneſſes to the Pope's abſolving the *Venetians*.

The Pope longed as much to give this *Abſolution*, as the *Venetians* did to receive it, his Views being accom-

accompliſhed; for he now feared the Ruin of the Republick as much as he wiſhed to ſee it humbled, when he entered into the League of *Cambray*; and accordingly, on the 25th of *February*, in a full Conſiſtory, his Holineſs ordered the Conditions to be read, which were, "That for the future "the Republick ſhould confer no Beni- "fices but ſuch as were of Lay Patro- "nage.—That they ſhould not trouble, "or moleſt in any manner thoſe who had received "Benefices or Collation from the Court of *Rome*. "—That it ſhould be lawful for their Subjects to "bring all their Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to that Court, "as to the laſt Reſort.—That they ſhould actually re- "tract the Appeal they had made to a future Council. "—That the Republick ſhould lay no Tax or "Impoſitions upon the Goods and Incomes of the "Church.—That they ſhould renounce all Rights "and Pretenſions whatſoever to the Lands belonging "to the Church, and eſpecially to the Right they "claimed of eſtabliſhing a *Vidame*, or Judge, at *Fer- "rara*.—That the Subjects of the Eccleſiaſtical Domi- "nions ſhould be allowed to trade freely on the *Adri- "atick*; and that their Ships of whatever Kind, or "loaded with what Goods ſoever, whether for them- "ſelves or Strangers, ſhould not be liable to any "* *Search* or Impoſition.—That the Republick ſhould "in no manner meddle with, or take Cognizance of, "what Treatment the Pope ſhould think fit to uſe "to any of his Vaſſals, or be any ways aiding or "aſſiſting to them.——Finally, that the Republick "ſhould make good all the **Damages* they had oc- "caſioned, either to the Churches or Revenues of the "Clergy, during the whole Courſe of the War."

The Conditions of the Abſolution.

The

* It is plain, that *Searching* of trading Ships gave Riſe to Quarrels among Princes formerly as well as at this Day; and we wiſh our preſent Miniſtry may take as much Care to have our *Damages* and *Expences* (occaſioned by, and ſubſequent thereto) made good, as his Holineſs did.

The *Venetian* Ambaſſadors having ſigned an Inſtrument, by which they ſubmitted to all theſe Conditions, the Pope admitted them into the Conſiſtory, and there gave them Abſolution with the uſual Ceremonies.

The Venetians *raiſe an Army.*

The *Venetians* no ſooner received Advice of the Pope's *Abſolution*, than with redoubled Ardour they renewed their Endeavours for maintaining the War, raiſing an Army of 1400 Men at Arms, 4000 Light-horſe, and 10,000 Foot: The Pope having allowed ſuch of his Subjects as would to go into their Service, it contributed much to the compleating their Troops; which Allowance, tho' a manifeſt Breach of the League of *Cambray*, gave high Satisfaction to the *Venetians*; for the moſt famous and experienced Officers in the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions engaged under the Banner of the *Venetians*.

Their chief General dies; his Character.

But what gave the *Venetians* no ſmall Uneaſineſs was the Death of their great General, *Pitigliano*, who died at *Padua* the beginning of the Spring. He was an Officer of great Merit; one who, in a Manner, had grown old with his Sword in his Hand; and, whilſt *Italians* fought with *Italians*, was reputed a very daring General; but after the Battle of *Fornuovo*, in which he was made ſenſible how much the Troops from this ſide the *Alps* exceeded thoſe of the other, he became ſo wary and circumſpect, that he paſſed rather for a fearful, than a forward Commander, being always againſt hazardous Meaſures, and thought the beſt Way would be for the *Italians* to forbear coming to Blows with the Enemy; not unlike the ſham-making Marches lately exerciſed between the *Sardinian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Neapolitan* Troops in *Italy*.

After the Death of *Pitigliano*, the Doge, *Loredano*, in Perſon, propoſed to the Marquis of *Mantua*, to

to take upon him the Command of the Army of the Republick, whoſe Priſoner he then was, and he did not fail to ſet off his Offer with all thoſe Advantages of inſinuating Flattery, which the *Venetians* knew ſo well how to practiſe, when they would allure Foreign Officers into their Armies.

The Marquis, impatient to get out of Priſon, readily promiſed what was required of him; but, being diſappointed in giving the Security he propoſed, the Senate began to think of another General, and reſolved upon one *Fregoſa*; and he proving not only a very indifferent Man, but a very indifferent Soldier, they did not employ him long, before they ſent in his Place *Malvezzi* and *Paul Baglione* ſucceſſively.

Affairs of Germany.

Whilſt theſe different Matters were tranſacting *Maximilian* was always diſpoſed to take the Field, but was ſeldom or never in a Condition to do it. He was profuſe as well as covetous, and as many Channels as there were to carry Money into his Coffers, ſo many Holes there were in them to let it ſlip out; but he reckoned upon two certain Funds, for ſupplying the Charges of the Campaign he was then going to open; the firſt was the Finances of the King of *France*, his Ally, and the other a Subſidy from the Empire, the Diet of which he had ſummoned to meet at *Augſburg*. But the Pope ſent his Nuncio to the Diet, to traverſe ſuch Propoſals as the Emperor ſhould make. The *Venetians* likewiſe ſent their ſecret Agents thither, to repreſent to the Princes and Miniſters, how much it was for the Intereſt of the Empire, to oppoſe the Emperor's Deſigns upon *Italy*. However the Negotiations of the Nuncio, and the Endeavours and ſecret Practices of thoſe Agents might retard the Deliberations of the Diet, yet they all proved abortive,

Maximilian *holds a Diet of the Empire.*

bortive, and the Diet at laſt came to the Reſolution of complying with the Emperor's Demands.

Maximilian was powerfully ſeconded by the *French* Plenipotentiary, and the Credit of his Maſter in *Germany* was very great. The Plenipotentiary was a Man of eminent Worth and high Reputation, and eſpecially valued for his great Eloquence, which had ſtrong Influence, and produced ſurprizing Effects even at that Time; his Name was *Lewis Helian*, a Native of *Verceil*, and Counſeller of State in *France*. This able Miniſter delivered a Speech againſt the *Venetians* in the Diet, which at once ſhewed him to be as well the Stateſman as the Scholar.

The Germans *and* French *take the Field in* Italy.

As ſoon as the Diet broke up the Count of *Hanaw*, the Emperor's Lieutenant General in *Italy*, aſſembled an Army of 500 Spearmen and 15,000 Foot, and joined Marſhal *Chaumont*'s Forces, (who had taken upon himſelf the Command of the *French* Troops there, in the room of *la Paliſſe*, employed elſewhere) and thoſe two Generals marched directly to *Vicenza*; but the *Venetian* Army kept at a good Diſtance before the other, and, not thinking it adviſeable to defend that Place, entrenched themſelves at *Brentelli*, as a Poſt in which they could not be attacked, by reaſon of the River that covered it.

The Inhabitants of *Vicenza*, finding themſelves thus abandoned by the *Venetians*, ſent their Magiſtrates to preſent the Keys of their Town to the Count of *Hanaw*, and to beg his Pardon, for having ſurprized and drove out the *German* Garriſon the Year before. The pathetick Speech thoſe Magiſtrates made on this Occaſion is related at large by *Guicciardin*; by which the Count, as this Hiſtorian ſays, was nothing moved, being ſwelled with barbarous Inſolence: And though *Chaumont*, by his Interceſſion ſaved the Lives of thoſe in the Town of *Vicenza*, Count *Hanaw* gave all their Effects as a Prey to the ravenous Soldiers, and cauſed them

them to purſue the reſt to the very Holes and Dens of the Mountains, whither they had run to hide themſelves, and great part of them, having ſhut themſelves up in a vaſt and almoſt inacceſſable Cave, were choaked to Death by the Smoak of Fires lighted at the Mouth thereof by his Orders.

The Germans deſert for Want of Pay.

After the Sacking of *Vicenza*, moſt part of the Emperor's Soldiers, who ſeldom received any Pay, deſerted, and by this Means the Deſign of Beſieging *Padua* a ſecond Time came to nothing: *Chaumont* therefore, being diſabled from executing what he firſt intended, reſolved to retake *Legnago*, the only Paſs the *Venetians* had upon the *higher Adige*. This River runs through the Middle of that Town, and the Part that lies on the left Side of the River is called the *Port*; round this the *Venetians* had drawn ſome ſlight Works, and let the Water of the *Adige* into them, on which Side *Chaumont* intended to come as he came from *Vicenza*. The Day he encamped at *Minerbio*, the Garriſon of *Legnago* marched out to reconnoitre the Enemy's Troops; but the *French* Infantry, having drove them back to the Brink of the firſt Ditch, and forced them to ſwim over, it ſo diſheartned the *Italians*, that they retired in the greateſt Confuſion, and ſuffered the *French* to enter into the *Port* without Oppoſition: Then *Chaumont*, having ordered a Body of Men to advance from the other Side of the *Adige*, they attacked the Town of *Legnago* ſo warmly, that, in a few Days, the Garriſon abandoned it, and endeavoured to ſave their Lives thro' the Water that then overflowed the neighbouring Grounds; and the Caſtle, being left almoſt defenceleſs, was forced to capitulate.

Legnago taken.

Cardinal d'Amboiſe's Death and Character.

It was at this Place that *Chaumont* received the melancholy News of his Uncle, the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*'s Death, which was not only a great Affliction to his Family, but fatal to *France* as Affairs then ſtood. This Prelate's

late's great Virtues ſurpaſſed even the Brightneſs of his Parts and Extent of his Knowledge: His Patience was ſuch as made him eaſy to wait a proper Seaſon for accompliſhing what he deſigned. His Courage made Danger appear mere Inconveniences, which might retard, but not prevent, the Execution of what he had propoſed. He was endued with ſuch Reſolution and Firmneſs of Mind, that he could never be diverted from his Purpoſe by all the Entreaties of his Friends, or Menaces of his Enemies. His Perſeverance was Proof againſt Delays of Time, the Slowneſs of Men, and the impertinent Diſcouragements of Courtiers. So great was the Confidence his Maſter repoſed in him, that it is very probable he would have prevented the open Rupture between *France* and the Pope, had he lived a little longer; though at firſt ſome thought his Death would be a Means to reconcile the King to the Pope, who expreſſed an infinite Joy on this Change; but it had a contrary Effect, by multiplying Grounds of Quarrel between thoſe two Princes. The Pope demanded the Cardinal's Treaſure, which amounted to 300,000 Crowns of Gold in *Specie*, to which, as he conceived, he ought to ſucceed. The King refuſed to give it him, which raiſed new Diſcontent, and a freſh Complaint.

The Emperor quite careleſs of his Affairs.

So little Care did the Emperor take of his own Concerns, and eſpecially of keeping up an Army in *Italy*, that *Chaumont* was forced to put a *French* Garriſon into *Legnago*, though in the Name of his Imperial Majeſty, which, by the Treaty of *Cambray*, was indeed aſſigned to him.

Whilſt *Chaumont* was preparing to return to his own Government, he received Orders from the King, to continue longer in the Service of the Emperor, there having been a new Agreement made between *Lewis* the XIIth and *Maximilian*, by which *Lewis* lent that Prince 100,000 Crowns of Gold, and his Army,

Army, upon Condition that he ſhould have *Verona* as a Pledge, till he was fully reimburſed.

In the Beginning of *June* the Duke of *Termini* joined *Chaumont* with a Body of *Spaniſh* Spearmen, which were the Troops the King of *Spain* was obliged to furniſh the Emperor with by the Treaty of *Cambray*; and as ſoon as this Army had drawn a Part of the *German* Garriſon out of *Verona*, it marched to *Monſelicia*, which is a little Town between *Eſte* and *Padua*, and made themſelves Maſters of it. *Monſelicia taken.*

After the Taking of *Monſelicia*, *Chaumont* left 400 Spearmen and 1500 *Spaniſh* Foot, that were in the King of *France*'s Pay, to ſecure the Emperor's Conqueſts, and ordered another Detatchment to be ready to ſuccour the Duke of *Ferrara*, in caſe the Pope ſhould attack him, which he had threatned (upon the Duke's refuſing to break the League of *Cambray*) and marched the reſt of the Troops into his Government of *Milan*.

The Pope declares War againſt France, *and impriſons her Ambaſſador.*

The Pope was ſo greatly enraged at what *Chaumont* had been acting, in Conjunction with the Emperor and *Spaniſh* Forces, and at *Lewis*'s Reſolution to ſuccour the Duke of *Ferrara*, that he forthwith declared War againſt *France*, and at once ordered the Cardinal *d'Auſch*, the *French* Ambaſſador, to be confined in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and his Army to begin the War, by falling upon the Duke of *Ferrara*.

This Army advanced to the very Gates of *Ferrara*, having in its March taken all the little Places in that Country that lay in their Way. Upon the News of the Motions of the Pope's Forces, *Chaumont*'s Succours marched to the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Aſſiſtance; and, as ſoon as they came up, the Pope's Troops retired, (not liking to deal with the *French* in the open Field, though they were ſuperior in Number to their Ene-

my) leaving behind them a Part of their Artillery, which had advanced too far to be brought off. However, notwithſtanding the Precipitation of their Retreat, they found Means to enter *Modena*, through the Favour of the *Rangoni*, who were as powerful in the City as the Sovereign himſelf, where we ſhall leave them.

The Swiſs Alliance with France expires.

During theſe Tranſactions a Matter happened, that in the End proved very prejudicial to *Lewis* the XIIth; the Alliance with the *Swiſs*, concluded at *Lucern*, in 1500, for ten Years, expiring, (by which the King was to pay each of the ten Cantons 1000 Crowns of Gold yearly) they demanded double the Sum; but *Lewis* would advance no more than 2000 Crowns, and that only becauſe the People of *Baſil* and *Scaffhauſen*, who had formed themſelves into Cantons, after the Treaty of *Lucern*, ſhould come in for an equal Share with the other ten. To this Offer the *Swiſs* anſwered, very haughtily, that *France* ought not to haggle with ſuch brave Men, who had done her too great Service to have any Terms put upon them, and that they muſt have 20,000 Crowns of Gold a Year, or nothing.

To this *Lewis* refuſed to comply, being vexed, that a People, whom the King of *France* (to uſe *Philip de Comine*'s Expreſſion) had brought *into the Light of the World*, ſhould preſume to dictate the Conditions of a Treaty, inſtead of courting his Favour; and therefore, the more to mortify them, he took ſome *German* and other Troops into his Service; though this was not a proper Time to ſave his Money, or to ſtand ſo much upon the Point of Honour.

The Pope engages the Swiſs in his Intereſt.

The Pope, hearing what had paſſed, ſent an Agent to the Diet held at *Lucern*, to engage them in his Service, hoping, through their Aſſiſtance, to carry all before him againſt his Enemies; they accepted

cepted the Conditions his Holineſs propoſed, and reſolved, that a Body of their Troops ſhould be immediately ſent into *Italy*, with Orders to obey the Pope's Commands; but with this Direction, (as the Body had Reaſons for not yet abſolutely breaking with *France*) that they ſhould march under the Banner of the Canton of *Schwitz* only, who had Cauſe to reſent an Affront which the *French* had lately given them at *Milan*. But this Artifice was eaſily ſeen through, ſince that Canton, which was one of the leaſt States of the *Helvetick* Body, was not able to furniſh a fifth Part of the Troops that were going into *Italy*.

In ſhort, the *Swiſs* were eager to fight the *French*, (who had touched them to the Quick, by hiring *Germans* and other Infantry in their Place) and for that End ſoon aſſembled an Army of 40,000 Men. Theſe Forces ſet out on their March for the *Milaneſe*, which was ſo little expected, that, when *Chaumont* heard of it, he was at a ſtand what to do, being but juſt returned from the Expedition we have been ſpeaking of; and, having left a Number of his Troops, to aſſiſt both the Emperor and the Duke of *Ferrara*, he could muſter no more than 1000 Spearmen and 7 or 8000 Foot: However, he divided this Body in two Parts, becauſe he was not ſure what Rout the *Swiſs* would take; but, by their rendezvouzing at *Bellinzone*, his Doubts were removed, and he then ſaw plainly, that their Deſign was to fall down into the Dutchy of *Milan*, properly ſo called.

They march into the Milaneſe.

On the 6th of *September* the *Swiſs* entered the *Milaneſe*, and encamped at *Caſtiglione*, whilſt *Chaumont*, with his little Army, attended them, at ſix Miles Diſtance, to watch their Motions: In three or four Marches they encamped near *Como*, and *Chaumont* kept pace with them, but choſe rather to induce them to return Home, than to give them Battle; in order to which,

which, he cauſed all the Proviſions, that were in the Places through which they were to paſs, to be carried off, and harraſſed them Day and Night with the Handful of Light-horſe he had in his Army. His Project ſucceeded, for the *Swiſs*, being pinched with Hunger, returned to their own Country, after enduring much fruitleſs Fatigue.

The Venetians *beſiege* Verona.

Thus ended the firſt Expedition of the *Swiſs*, which the *Venetians* as well as the Pope had flattered themſelves would have produced ſome favourable Event; at leaſt, that it would have given the *French* Work enough for a Time. In hopes of this, the former reſolved on the Siege of *Verona*; and *Malvezzi*, who was become General of their Forces in the Room of *Baglione*, had Orders to form it, which accordingly he did. His Army conſiſted of 800 Men compleatly armed, 3000 Light-horſe, 10,000 mercenary Troops, and the *Venetian* Militia, attended by a great Number of Pioneers, moſt Part of whom came of their own accord.

Their remarkable Zeal.

No Nation ever ſhewed more Zeal for the Service of their *native* Prince, than the *Venetian* Peaſants expreſſed for the Glory of St. *Mark*; and, during the Courſe of this War, they devoted themſelves ſo far to the Service of their Maſters, as to run the Riſque of being their Spies; nor were the Hazards they underwent, or the Misfortunes of the Republick, able to cool their Ardour for the Good of their Country. Hiſtorians give many Inſtances of theſe ſtedfaſt People, who choſe to ſuffer all the Indignities, unruly and bloody Soldiers could put upon them, and even Death itſelf, rather than do or ſay any Thing that might tend in the leaſt to the Diſadvantage of, or even ſeem to *revile* or appear *diſreſpectful* to their *Governors*.*

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* Theſe *Governors* ſtudied the *Eaſe* and *Welfare* of their People, more than their own *private Intereſt* or *Paſſions*. See p. 46.

A like Inſtance of Firmneſs and dutiful Affection, we have at this Day in the *Auſtrians*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, &c. to the Queen of *Hungary*, their lawful Sovereign, notwithſtanding all the Misfortunes and ill Treatment that noble Princeſs has met with. Both which Inſtances will always make future Annals ſhine.

And that of the Auſtrians, *&c. compared.*

But it was the Republick's Unhappineſs, that their Troops did not ſhew ſo much Courage, as their Subjects did Fidelity. All that Foreſight and *Opulence* could do, to carry on and facilitate a Siege, was to be ſeen in the *Venetian* Camp before *Verona*, and there was nothing wanting but good Troops; yet all the Treaſure of the Republick, and all the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Senate could not give Courage to their daſtardly Soldiers; the Works they threw up before the Place were always demoliſhed before they were finiſhed; and if, by Chance, they planted Pieces of Cannon on their Batteries, the Beſieged had the Spirit to march out, with their Drums beating, and carry them into the Town. This ill Conduct of the *Venetian* Soldiers was Reaſon ſufficient for raiſing the Siege; but *Chaumont*'s coming to relieve the Place, after he had played back the *Swiſs* into their own Country, gave the Beſiegers a fair Pretence for ſo doing; accordingly the *Venetian* Army retired to *St. Boniface*, and encamped on a Ground that was ſo covered by a River near it, and the adjoining Moraſſes, that it was impoſſible for the Art of Men to force them.

The Venetian *Soldiers wanted Courage.*

Chaumont *relieves* Verona.

Julius the IId received at once the mortifying News of the Retreat of the *Swiſs*, and the Raiſing of the Siege of *Verona*; and, one Misfortune treading upon the Heels of another, the Pope now ſeemed willing to treat with

Pope Julius *under great Perplexity.*

with the King of *France*, and put an End to a War which he had ſo haſtily commenced againſt him and his Allies; but an Affair ſoon after fell out, that made him change his Mind, being very unwilling to part with his beloved Project of driving the *French* out of *Italy*.

The Marquis of Mantua *releaſed.*

For, to return to the Marquis of *Mantua*, he was releaſed from his Confinement by the Interceſſion of his old Friend, the Grand Siegnior, *Bajazet*, with whom the Marquis had kept a conſtant Correſpondence, with a Deſign to obtain his Protection againſt the *Venetians*. This formidable Protector of the *Mantuan* ſent for the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, reſiding at the Port, and told him, in Terms very explicit, that his Maſters muſt forthwith ſet at Liberty his beſt Friend, the Marquis of *Mantua*. No ſooner had the Senate (who generally took care to keep fair with the *Porte*) ſeen their Ambaſſador's Diſpatches, but they ſet the Marquis at Liberty: However, the *Venetians*, who knew how to improve every thing to the beſt Advantage, perſuaded him, that the Favour, they had ſhewed him, was chiefly owing to the Pope's good Offices, and with this Perſuaſion they ſent him to his Holineſs, full fraught with thankful Acknowledgments for the Paternal Care he had expreſſed for his Enlargement. The Pope, finding the Marquis prepoſſeſſed with the Senſe of ſo great an Obligation, found it no difficult Matter to oblige him to renounce his former Alliances, particularly that at *Cambray*, and to enter into a new one with him and the Republick of *Venice*.

The Pope declares War again.

Upon this Event, *Julius* declined treating further with *Lewis* the XIIth, and, as his own and the *Venetian* Army were again got into the Field, he now talked of nothing but putting himſelf at the Head of thoſe Troops; and, as ſome ſay, he openly declared, *That*, as

as the Keys of St. *Peter had not availed him, he would make uſe of the Sword of St.* Paul: Upon which a *Latin* Epigram was made by *Gilbertus Duſteris*, which runs thus in *Engliſh*,

Fame ſays, Pope Julius *once the Sword did wield,*
And, to engage the French, *he took the Field.*
Fierce into Tyber's *Stream the Keys he threw,*
Exclaiming loudly as his Sword he drew:
Since, in my Aid, thy Keys, O Peter! *fail,*
Thy Sword, O Paul! *in Battle may avail.*

He propoſes to beſiege Ferrara.

About the Beginning of *October* he ſet out from *Rome*, deſigning to lay Siege to *Ferrara*. This Enterprize was far from promiſing Succeſs; yet the *Venetians*, in order to flatter the Pride and Arrogancy of the Pope, ſeemed to be eager for the Siege, though they were ſatisfied there was no likelihood of ſucceeding in it, becauſe the Seaſon was too far advanced, and for that *Chaumont* had thrown a Reinforcement into the Place.

But marches off to Modena.

At laſt *Julius* himſelf was convinced of his Error; however, he thought it would look ſilly to command his Army and undertake nothing, which put him upon ordering his Generals to give *Chaumont* Battle; but thoſe Officers knew better, inſtead of fighting they repreſented to him the great Odds there were between his Troops and thoſe of *Chaumont*; and in the End, after all his Holineſs's Noiſe, both he and his Generals were glad to march off under Pretence of protecting *Modena*, which they accordingly did, well knowing that Place would alſo be a Protection to them. In the mean time the *Venetian* Forces retired into their own Territories, but promiſed at parting, they would be ready to march to his Holineſs's Aſſiſtance at all times.

The *Venetian* Affairs were not more proſperous at this Time than thoſe of the Pope; they had ſent a Fleet into the *Adige*, with Deſign to give a Diverſion by pillaging the *Ferrareſe* on the left Side of the *Po*; another Fleet they had in the *Po*, which was to attempt joining that in the *Adige* at *Adria*; but the Water of a Canal, through which they muſt paſs, from one River to the other, was ſo low, that the Duke of *Ferrara*, having Notice of the Condition that they were in, came upon them in this Juncture with his formidable Train of Artillery, and deſtroyed that Fleet, as he had another ſome time before, which had advanced up the *Po* as far as *Ferrara*. Thus all the Pope's Schemes were for the preſent defeated, which cauſed him to quit his Army, and retire to *Bologna* with his whole Court.

Lewis *the* XIIth *aſſembles his Clergy.*

As to *Lewis* the XIIth, he found ſcarce any Hopes of prevailing on the Pope to come to reaſonable Terms with him, which induced him to aſſemble the Clergy of his Kingdom at *Tours*, where he deſired to know the Opinion of that pious and wiſe Body, "Whether he could in Conſcience, in "aſſerting his juſt Rights, avenge himſelf on *Julius*, "for his Breach of Faith and Treaties? and how far "he ought to regard the Spiritual Arms of the Church "in the Hands of the Aggreſſor, who made no other "uſe of them, than to ſupport Injuſtice, in Matters "purely Temporal? Whether he might not, in or-"der to keep the War out of his own Dominions, "take Poſſeſſion of a Place, which the Pope had "wreſted from its lawful Sovereigns, who had been "in quiet Poſſeſſion of it, by Right of Preſcription, "for above 100 Years without Interruption? Theſe "were the *Bentivogli*, whom *Julius* the IId had drove "out of *Bologna*."

Their Anſwer.

The Opinion the *Gallican* Church gave was this, "That the King might, without the "leaſt

" leaſt Scruple, maintain his Quarrel with the Court " of *Rome*, and even act offenſively againſt his Ho- " lineſs as an Enemy. That, Religion being no ways " concerned in the Quarrel, the Pope ought not " to uſe his ſpiritual Arms. That, if his Holineſs " did not recal the Cenſures he had already un- " warrantably thundred out, or if afterwards he ſhould " iſſue out any other, the Party injured might with- " draw its Obedience from him, and make Appli- " cation to whom it belonged, by calling a gene- " ral Council: And, finally, adviſed his Majeſty to " join with the Emperor, in order to ſtrengthen him " to take Satisfaction of his Holineſs."

Whilſt this Aſſembly was ſitting *Matthew Long*, Biſhop of *Gurck*, who was *Maximilian*'s chief Miniſter, arrived at *Tours*, and ſoon after attended the King at *Blois*, where it was agreed that a General Council ſhould be forthwith held; and *Varillas* tells us, that a Treaty was then concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, which aimed at no leſs than depoſing *Julius* the IId, and continuing the League of *Cambray*. *Mariana* is poſitive, that the principal Drift of *Maximilian*'s uniting ſo cloſely with *Lewis*, in calling a general Council, *&c.* was that of ſtepping into the Papal Chair, and, by ſo doing, to obtain the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, in Imitation of the old *Roman* Emperors.

William Ockham, an *Engliſh* Writer, many Years before *Maximilian*'s Time, advanced ſome Propoſitions, in Relation to the Claims of former Emperors, that very much favoured this Prince's Emulation; from whence perhaps *Maximilian* might have imbibed the Notion of joining the *Spiritual* Power to the *Temporal*, in Contradiction to *Julius*, who laboured ſo much to join the *Temporal* to the *Spiritual*.

No ſooner was it known in *Italy*, that the Calling a general Council *Five Cardinals deſert the Pope.*

was reſolved on, but five Cardinals, who were highly diſſatisfied with *Julius*'s Actions, deſerted him, and retired to *Milan*, fully reſolved to oppoſe his lucrative Meaſures.

In the mean time the Pope reſted himſelf contented at *Bologna*, without ſeeming to be much diſturbed at the Meaſures his Enemies were taking againſt him, and, notwithſtanding all the Deſigns they were laying to humble him, abated nothing of his Arrogance; but writ to the five Cardinals in the Strain of a highly provoked Maſter, who was ſure of revenging himſelf on his undutiful Servants; and changed the Monitory, he had publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, into an Excommunication, comprehending the Auxiliary *French* Troops, and particularly *Chaumont*, the *French* General, if he did not forthwith order them back into the *Milaneſe*: But *Chaumont* was not to be frighted with an Excommunication ſo ill grounded.

The Pope excommunicates the Duke of Ferrara, *&c.*

But, to proceed, after *Chaumont* had relieved *Verona*, he marched his Army (which was conſiderably reinforced) to *Modena*, and in his Way came up with the Pope's Troops, ſome of whom fell into his Hands, but the far greater Part of them found Means to throw themſelves into *Modena*; ſo that *Chaumont* did not think fit to beſiege that Place, but was rather at a ſtand which way to proceed. The *Bentivogli*, who were in the *French* Camp with all their Friends, took this Opportunity to propoſe a very extraordinary Enterprize to *Chaumont*, that of going to attack *Bologna*, where *Julius*, who had kindled this War, was ſhut up, with a numerous Court, but a very weak Garriſon.

Chaumont *marches to* Modena,

Chaumont approved of the Propoſal, and marched upon this Expedition, and encamped at *Creſpolano*, on which

And approaches Bologna.

Bologna

Bologna was ſtruck with the greateſt Conſternation, the *French* being then but ten Miles from it.

Julius's Courtiers, on this Approach, were ſtruck with the utmoſt Conſternation; and his Officers, notwithſtanding their habitual Diſſimulation, could no longer forbear betraying their Fear; one Part of them ſeemed to be ſtruck dumb, whilſt the other were buſy in making their Wills.

And grants the Pope a Ceſſation of Arms.

Upon this, the Cardinals repreſented to his Holineſs the Danger he was in, and that there was no way now left to get out of that Place, but by a ſpeedy Accommodation with the *French*. At firſt he diſregarded their Advice; for, inſtead of following it, he ſent after the *Venetian* Army to haſten to his Aſſiſtance, and, becauſe they did not come ſo ſoon as he expected, he fell a ſtorming at the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, which availed him but little; notwithſtanding that, the nearer the Enemy drew to the City, the more *Julius*'s Rage encreaſed; but, when he ſaw Parties of the *French* advance ſo far as to kill the Centinels in the very Gates of *Bologna*, he was ſo frightned, that he thought it beſt to ſeem to yield to the Cardinals Advice of treating with *Chaumont*; which Feint ſaved the City, for *Chaumont*, inſtead of purſuing his Advantage, ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by the Pretence of a Treaty, and loſt a whole Day, which, if he had properly made uſe of, he might have taken the Town, his Holineſs, and all his Courtiers in it; and thereby have prevented all thoſe Evils that afterwards enſued to his Maſter from this War. Some ſay, this Piece of Fineſſe was owing to Archbiſhop *Baynbridge*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who, ſeeing the Pope in great Diſtreſs, repaired to *Chaumont*'s Camp, and repreſented to him, that the Pope was ready to give his Maſter all the Satisfaction he could deſire; and therefore, if he advanced further, a Rupture would certainly enſue

ſue between *England* and *France*; and his bluſtering Way of delivering this Repreſentation ſo terrified *Chaumont*, that he was in great Perplexity, and induced to conſent to treat with the Pope, and grant him a Ceſſation of Arms for two Days, in hopes, during that Time, to conclude a Treaty with him: But this was far from anſwering the End propoſed by *Chaumont*, for in this Time the Pope ſent away his moſt valuable Effects into *Tuſcany*, and Courier after Courier to haſten the March of the *Venetian* Forces. In ſhort, our Pontiff obtained what he deſired by the Ceſſation of Arms; and, to crown all, the Evening before it expired, the Van of the *Venetian* Army entered *Bologna*, and the Inhabitants, who before were diſpoſed to follow Fortune, took Arms in Favour of the Pope. When the Time given *Julius* was expired, *Chaumont* drew his Forces nearer to *Bologna*, thinking that his Preſence would make the Pope ſign the Treaty; but, as the Succours were arrived, his Holineſs threw off the Maſk, and refuſed to treat any longer. Then it was *Chaumont* ſaw, not without great Confuſion, that his Deſign was fruſtrated, and he obliged to retreat, which accordingly he did; and this he got by being amuſed with * *Treating* inſtead of *Fighting*, eſpecially with Enemies that as far exceeded him at Intrigues, as he did them in warlike Exploits.

The Venetian *Army enters* Bologna.

Chaumont *retreats with Shame.*

All *Chaumont* had now to do, was to colour his Retreat with ſome plauſible Pretext, which he endeavoured to do under Pretence of the great Reſpect he had for the Repreſentation that had been made to him by the *Engliſh* and other Ambaſſadors, againſt his advancing to *Bologna*; and that, as it was the Month of *December*, he thought it proper to end the Campaign, which cauſed him

His Excuſe for it.

* A Practice much in Vogue of late Years.

him to diſband his Infantry according to the then Cuſtom, and retired to *Milan*.

The Pope's Forces take Concorda,

His Holineſs now talked of nothing but Battles and Sieges, and immediately ſent Orders to his General, having been reinforced with a conſiderable Body, to withdraw his Army out of *Modena*, and march to attack *Concorda*, which he obeyed, and the Town yielded upon the firſt Summons.

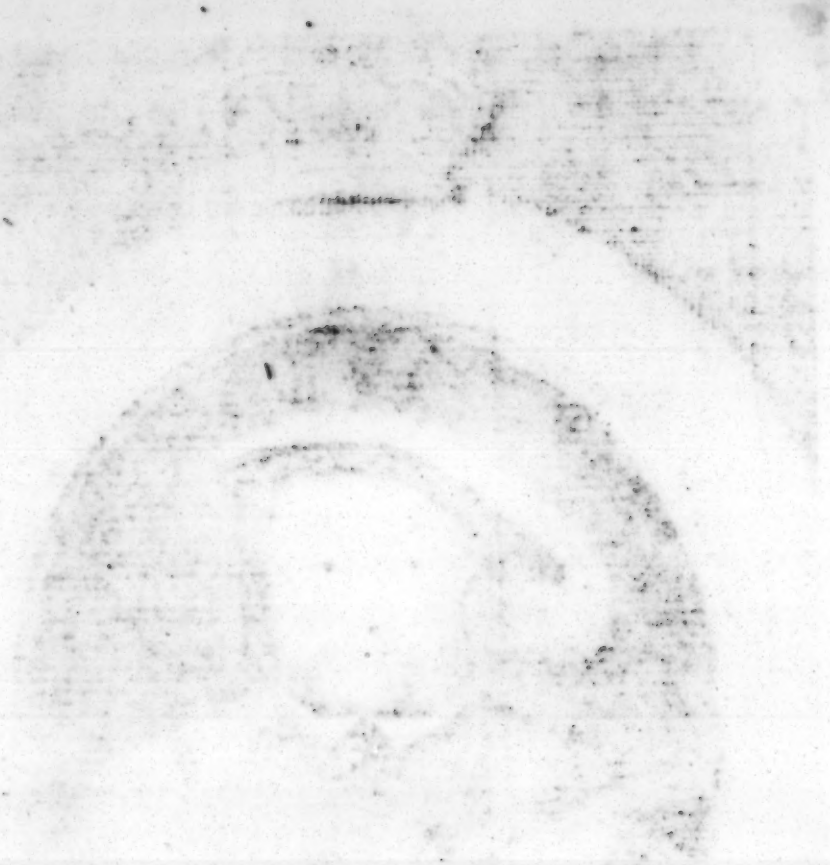
And Mirandola.

From *Concorda* the General marched his Army to *Mirandola*, into which the *French* had precipitately thrown ſome Infantry. It was now about the latter end of *December*, and the Seaſon proved more ſevere than ordinary: However that did not deter valiant *Julius* from ordering his General to forbear beſieging the Place, who had refuſed to ſurrender; on the contrary the Siege was formed, but it went on ſo ſlowly, that the Pope was highly diſſatisfied with his General's Conduct, and reſolved to go and command his Army in Perſon; being got to his Camp he took up his Quarters under the Cannon of *Mirandola*, without the leaſt Regard to his Age or Dignity, even exerciſing not only all the Offices of a chief General, but even thoſe of a Soldier; he was on the Batteries Night and Day for a good while; but at laſt was forced, by the Rigour of the Seaſon, to retire to *Concorda*, tho' very uneaſy, when he heard the Town made ſtill an obſtinate Defence. This put him again on returning to his Army; and, tho' the Snow covered the Roads, and made it very difficult to paſs, he found Means to get to the Siege, and took up his Quarters in a little Church near the Walls of the Town: Still nothing was done ſoon enough, he was always calling in a Fury to the Captains upon Duty; nor had he any Regard to the horrible Coldneſs of the Weather. Here ſeveral of his Servants being killed by the Cannon of the City, he thought it adviſeable to remove from thence to a Place further

ther off; and, notwithſtanding his utmoſt Efforts, the Siege went on but heavily: For *Alexander Trivulca*, (Nephew to the Mareſchal of that Name) the Governor, tho' his Garriſon conſiſted of no more than 400 Men, defended the City with incredible Reſolution and Bravery, in hopes of ſoon ſeeing *Chaumont* come to his Relief; but he was diſappointed, tho' *Chaumont*, upon receiving the News of this Siege, came to *Rubiera*, in order to reaſſemble his Army, but, before it could be effected, there was a Breach made in the Place, and the Ice in the Ditch being ſtrong enough to bear over the Beſiegers, there was no occaſion for filling it up to make the Aſſault; upon which the Garriſon, the 20th of *January*, capitulated, on being allowed to march out, leaving all the Officers Priſoners of War; and the Pope entered the Breach in a triumphant Manner, diſplaying all the Oſtentation and Pomp that a young General could have done: And thus winds up the Year 1510, as to the Affairs of *Italy*.

Affairs of Spain. 1510.

King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, whilſt Affairs were thus tranſacting in *Italy*, ſeemed very intent in making great Preparations to paſs with his Army over to *Africa*, as he had given out; but when they were ready to embark, he excuſed himſelf from proceeding in that Expedition, under Pretence that other Affairs of very great Conſequence required his Preſence at home; ſtill to ſhew the World his Zeal for Religion was no way abated, he cauſed a large Body of Forces under the Command of the famous *Peter Navarro*, to be tranſported into *Africa*, which landed at *Bugia* on the 5th of *March*, and took the Place by Aſſault; then marched up the Country, with an Army of 15,000 Men, where he defeated a large Body of *Moors*; but the *Spaniards*, having proceeded too far, were attacked in the Iſland of *Gelves*, where they loſt between two and three thouſand Men; and had the Infidels purſued the



HENRY

the Advantage they had obtained, in all Probability, few or none had eſcaped: In ſhort, thoſe that remained of *Navarro*'s ſhattered Troops were glad, with their General, to get ſafe into *Spain*. This great Diſappointment ſoon made crafty *Ferdinand* tired of *Moriſh* Expeditions, tho' he pretended ſtill, that he had nothing more at heart than making Conqueſts in that Part of the World, for the Glory of God and the Good of the Church, continuing to give out, that he would ſhortly go over to *Africa* and command his Army againſt the Infidels in Perſon: How far he kept his Word, and the Dupe he made of our Prince on that Head, the Sequel will ſhew.

Now, to return Home, his Majeſty concluded the laſt Year with giving Direction for calling his Parliament; and, on the 21ſt of *January*, they met, when the Commons proceeded by the King's Direction to chuſe a Speaker,* and Sir *Thomas Ingleby* was pitched upon, who, being preſented to the King, was approved of. Sir *Thomas*

Proceedings of the firſt Parliament of Henry *the* VIIIth, 1510.

* The Commons upon a new Election repair to their Houſe at the Day appointed, where each Member is called on to anſwer to his Name, and for the Place he repreſents: That done, they attend the King in the Houſe of Lords, the Cauſe of Summons being declared by the King or Chancellor, the Lord Chancellor confers firſt with his Majeſty, then in his Name commands the Commons to aſſemble in their Houſe, and chuſe their Speaker; upon which the Commons immediately repair thither, and one of the Members, putting the reſt in mind of what they were charged with, recommends a Speaker unto them, and deſires their Opinions to be ſignified accordingly. When the Speaker is choſen, he modeſtly ſhewing what Abilities are required in a Speaker, and that there were divers among them well furniſhed with ſuch Qualities, prays them to proceed to the Choice of another in his Place, which is commonly anſwered with a full Conſent of Voices upon his Name. Then two of the Members conduct him from his Place to the Chair, where, ſitting a while, he ariſes, uncovers, and prays, that he may be permitted to diſable himſelf to the King; that being denied, he, with humble Thanks, promiſes his willing Endeavours to do them Service. After which one

was made the uſual Proteſtation for himſelf, and prayed, that, if any of the Commons ſhould, in debating Matters, ſpeak more largely than they ought, they might be pardoned by the King, which was granted.

The Commons being returned to their Houſe, the firſt Buſineſs that came before them was general Complaints againſt Sir *Richard Empſon*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Eſq; under Sentence of Death in the Tower, reſpecting their vile and mercileſs Treatment of the Subjects in general in the late Reign, (as before taken Notice of) which Complaints being fully made out, they drew up a Repreſentation thereon, and the Speaker, at the Head of the Houſe of Commons, preſented it to the King.

His Majeſty received the Houſe very graciouſly, and anſwered them in general, That he was ready, on his Part, to paſs ſuch a Law as ſhould be propoſed by the Commons, to prevent the like Inconvenien-

one of the Members puts the Houſe in mind of the Day to preſent him, *&c.*

The Day appointed being come, they go up to the Houſe of Lords, where his Majeſty, ſitting on his Royal Throne, and the Lords in their Robes, the Commons are called in, and the Speaker is uſhered in between two of them, and with low Obeyſance preſented at the Bar to his Majeſty.

The Speaker having made his Excuſe, the Chancellor confers with the King, and then replies, *That his Majeſty doth approve of the Choice the Commons had made, and will not allow of his Excuſe.* Then the Speaker proceeds to make a Speech on Behalf of the Commons, for all their antient Privileges in general, and for ſome particularly. When the Speaker returns from attending the King, the Mace is carried before him (and not till then) to the Houſe, and he aſſumes the Chair, the Clerks ſitting before him, in lower Seats, who read Bills, Petitions, *&c.* and the Speaker, when a Bill is read, briefly opens the Purport of it, and puts the Queſtion, *&c.*

The Speaker is ſaid to be not only the *Mouth* but the *Eyes* and *Ears* of the Houſe, and hence it was, when King *Charles* the Iſt commanded the Speaker on his Allegiance to diſcover certain Tranſactions, *&c.* in Parliament, he juſtly replied, *That he had neither Eyes to ſee, Ears to hear, nor Mouth to ſpeak, but as the Houſe directed him.*

niences for Time to come, upon which an Act paſſed accordingly.

The Parliament in this Seſſion paſſed the following Acts,* all which were extremely well received by the Nation in general; after they had ſo done, and diſpatched ſuch *other important* Affairs that lay before them, they broke up.

The young King was now entered into the 19th Year of his Age, and diſcovered a Spirit equal to his Birth, entertaining Thoughts of regaining what his Predeceſſors had loſt during the Domeſtick Conteſts between the *White* and *Red Roſes*, or Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, centered in him; but, it not being a proper Time to take Arms, he for the preſent diverted himſelf by making a Progreſs into diff-

 ferent

* I. To lay a Penalty upon ſuch Merchants as ſhould enter Goods in their own Names, when the ſame belonged to Foreigners, and thereby defraud the King of his Duty; and to lay a Penalty on ſuch Citizens of *London*, &c. being free of Priſage or *Butlarage* of Wines, in caſe they Cuſtom any Perſon's Wines, in their own Name, that has not the like Privelege.

II. That no Fee be paid to the Coroner, where a Perſon is killed by a Miſadventure; and in caſe the Coroner takes any ſuch Fee, he is to forfeit 40*s*.

III. To declare the ſeveral Duties of an Eſcheator and Commiſſioner, in reſpect to finding of Offices; and what Eſtate in Land ſuch Eſcheator and Commiſſioner ſhall have, before he be permitted to ſit: Alſo to lay the Jurors, returned to find any Office, under different Penalties in caſe they offend againſt this Law; which directs where they are to return their Proceedings.

IV. To direct the letting of Land, ſeized into the King's Hand, upon an Inqueſt, and that it ſhall be ſet to farm to him that tendereth a Traverſe to the ſame within three Months.

V. Untrue Inquiſitions found in the Reign of *Henry the* VIIIth, by the Procurement of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, may be traverſed by the Party, though the ſame Perſons have ſued their Livery, yet their Livery ſhall be no Concluſion.

VI. To attaint Sir *Richard Empſon*, Knt. and *Edmund Dudley*, Eſq; of High-treaſon.

VII. That all Forfeitures upon Penal Laws ſhould be proſecuted for within three Years from the Time of the Offence committed, or that the ſame ſhould not then after be allowed of.

ferent Parts of his Kingdom *: And, as he paſſed on, his Majeſty heard repeated Complaints againſt *Empſon* and *Dudley*, which induced the King to ſend an Order for their Execution, which was done by Beheading them, on the 17th of *Auguſt*, on *Tower-Hill*.

As the Names of *Empſon* and *Dudley* will be odious to all Poſterity, as long as Liberty and Property are valuable, its to be wiſhed that their End and Fall may be as *Beacons*, not only to the preſent but future Times, to warn others from purſuing their Courſe, leſt they ſplit on the ſame Rock: And, if there be ſuch Men now in *Great Britain*, we heartily deſire their Crimes may be diſcovered, and they proſecuted and puniſhed, ſo that their Names may be expoſed to the like hateful Remembrance.

The King next remitted ſeveral Fines due to him from his Subjects, which gained him more and more the Good-will of his People.

Dr. Echard's Picture of the young King.

We hope it will not be unpardonable, if we introduce the learned Dr. *Echard*'s Picture of the young King, whoſe ſingular Deſcription, and the Language, we ſhall leave the Reader to judge of. After ſpeaking of the End of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, the Doctor proceeds,—"That *Henry* the VIIIth acted therein more like a good "King than a good Maſter: However by this, and "his remitting of ſeveral Fines, he gained the Love "and Affection of the Nation at this Time, and was "in perfect Peace and Safety with his People. This "gave him an Opportunity to follow thoſe Liber-"ties and Pleaſures which were moſt ſuitable to his "youthful and vigorous Diſpoſition; for though he "uſed

* A Practice highly to be commended, though not followed by many of our late Princes: For what can tend more to ingratiate a King with his People than the frequently ſeeing his gracious Countenance, feeling the good Effect of his Royal Viſits and Beneficence, and experiencing his Readineſs not only to hear their Complaints, but to redreſs their Grievances?

" uſed Feaſtings, Maſks, Dancing, Singing, Playing " upon many Inſtruments, making Verſes and the " like, yet his more ſerious Entertainments were the " Study of Hiſtory and School-divinity, in which " he much delighted, as likewiſe Juſts, Tourneys and " Barriers, and that not in an ordinary Manner but " with the Two-handed Sword and Battle-Axe; theſe " again, were adorned and ſet out with moſt coſtly " Pageants and magnificent Devices, and theſe ſo " frequently, that they did not only conſume much " Time, but alſo great Part of his Treaſure, and in- " deed, never any King delighted more in Pomp and " Shew; his Court was marſhalled like a Camp, and " his Camp ſet out like a Court; ſo that *Mars* and " *Venus* ſeemed to be in Conjunction all this Reign, " and Love and Honour as faſhionable as in the Ro- " mance of thoſe Times, nor needed he any thing " beſides his own Example to draw the young No- " bility after him, who was now no leſs conſiderable " for their Number *than their Quality, ſo that all the* " *Neighbouring* Nations were both ſenſible and ap- " prehenſive of his growing Greatneſs."

The Kings of England *and* France *ſign a Treaty.*

For this Reaſon *Lewis* the XIIth thought it his Intereſt to keep in with the King of *England*, and ordered his Ambaſſador, at our Court, to renew the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, between *Henry* the VIIth and *Charles* the VIIIth, which Miniſter purſued his Inſtructions ſo cloſely, that a new Treaty was agreed upon between *France* and *England*, bearing Date the 23d of *March*, 1510.

The Subſtance of which Treaty was, " That the " Peace between the two Kings ſhould laſt to the firſt " Demiſe of either of them; that it ſhould be con- " firmed by the States-General of *France* and the Par- " liament of *England*; that each of theſe Princes " ſhould take care to obtain the Pope's Approbation, " with a previous Sentence of Excommunication a-

" gainſt

" gainſt the firſt Violater. *Lewis*, by Letters Patents, " promiſed to pay the Arrears of the 670,000 Crowns, " ſecured to the Crown of *England* by the Treaty of " *Eſtaples*, at 25,000 Livres every ſix Months, till the " whole ſhould be diſcharged." After which the Peace was ratified and ſworn to by both Kings.

Lewis now apprehended, as he had happily renewed the Alliance that was ſubſiſting at *Henry* the VIIth's Death, he had nothing to fear from *England*, which induced him to purſue more than ever his Affairs in *Italy*.

The Pope courts the King's Favour.

In the mean time *Julius* the IId left no Stone unturned to engage *Henry* the VIIIth to his Intereſt, ſhewing more than ordinary Reſpect to Dr. *Baynbridge* at his Court, and, as it was an antient Cuſtom, for the *Roman* Pontiffs, upon the Acceſſion of a King to the Throne of his Anceſtors, to ſend him ſome Marks of their fatherly Affection, his Holineſs ſent the King a Golden Roſe, which was delivered to Archbiſhop *Warham*, accompanied with a Letter, the Subſtance of which here follows:

Pope Julius *the* IId *to his venerable Brother*, William, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Venerable Brother,

" WE ſalute you, and ſend you our Apoſtolical " Benediction.

" Reſolving with ourſelves, that our moſt Eminent " Son in Chriſt, *Henry*, the moſt Illuſtrious King of " *England*, for whom We have a very peculiar Re- " gard, ſhould receive from us ſome honorary Apoſto- " lical Preſent, in this Beginning of his Reign, We " now ſend him the Golden Roſe, anointed with " the Holy Chriſm, ſprinkled with odoriferous Muſk, " and bleſſed with our Hands, after the Manner of

" the

" the *Roman* Pontiffs, which we would have you,
" Brother, to give him, with our Apoſtolical Bene-
" diction, during the Solemnity of the Maſs, (by you
" to be celebrated) you uſing the Ceremonies for
" this Purpoſe contained in the Schedule annexed
" to it.

" Given at *Rome* the 5th of *April*, 1510, in the
" Seventh Year of our Pontificate.

" SIGISMUNDUS."

The Archbiſhop obeyed his Holineſs's Injunction, and delivered the Golden Roſe to his Majeſty, after celebrating high Maſs, with the Ceremonies uſual on ſuch Occaſions. This Preſent was ſo well received by our young Prince, that *Baynbridge* had Orders to aſſure the Pope, the King his Maſter was diſpoſed to protect his Holineſs againſt all his Enemies; which was no ſooner known to his Father-in-law, old *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, than he began his old Game of ſerving himſelf, under Pretence of his readineſs to aſſiſt his Son-in-law in any Enterprize he ſhould undertake, particularly that of recovering the Countries from *France*, that had been taken from his Anceſtors; but deſired, that the Meaſures which he intended to take ſhould be kept private, in order to attack *Lewis* the more unexpectedly: And, to compleat his Purpoſe, on the 6th of *January*, 1510, he commiſſioned his Ambaſſador at *London* to treat with *Henry* about a ſtricter Alliance than at preſent ſubſiſted between *England* and *Spain*. Accordingly, a defenſive Treaty was concluded on the 24th of *May*, with Promiſe of mutually aiding each other upon Occaſion. It ſeems very odd indeed, that *Henry* ſhould enter into ſuch a Treaty with *Spain*, before even that with *France* was put in Execution; but it may be obſerved, that both Treaties were concluded by the Advice of *Henry*'s Miniſters,

The King of Spain's *Pretences.*

Concludes a Treaty with Henry *the* VIIIth.

niſters, which he conſtituted of his Council upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, and without the Aſſiſtance of *Wolſey*: And *Rapin* ſays, "Never Prince committed "groſſer Faults, or was more impoſed upon than "himſelf, eſpecially in the firſt Year of his Reign." But we ſhall preſently ſee, when *Wolſey* came to be Archbiſhop of *York*, and eſtabliſhed in the Miniſtry, that no ſuch groſs Errors were committed, and that he never led his Maſter into any diſhonourable Treaty, or acted in any manner that rendered *England* contemptible Abroad.

For, agreeable to Monſieur *Rapin*'s Words, ("That, "whilſt *Henry* was wholly addicted to his Pleaſures, "there was a Perſon gradually riſing at Court, who "was one Day to have an abſolute Power over him, "and to manage all his Affairs, as well Foreign as "Domeſtick. I mean *Thomas Wolſey*.") before the End of *November* his Majeſty was pleaſed further to diſtinguiſh his Almoner, by making him one of his Privy Council, and ſoon after electing him his Reporter of the Proceedings in the Star-chamber; which laſt Preferment ſoon gave him a conſiderable Weight at Court, and brings us to the Concluſion of the Year 1510.

Affairs of Italy. 1511.

WE left the Pope entering the Town of *Mirandola* in great State, from thence he ſoon after returned to *Rome*, leaving his Nephew the Duke of *Urbino* Commander of his Forces; yet he ſaw with the utmoſt Concern, that his further Deſigns muſt miſcarry, as long as the Emperor and the King of *France* were ſo cloſely united; therefore he ſpent ſome Days in conſulting with his Friends, in order to find out an Expedient to diſſolve ſo formidable an Union; and, knowing that *Ferdinand* of *Spain* would be a proper Inſtrument for that End, his Holineſs began to ſhew that Prince's Ambaſſador at his Court more than ordinary Civility, and

and promiſed to gratify his Maſter in what he could reaſonably deſire, in Caſe he aſſiſted him in breaking the Union between *Maximilian* and *Lewis*: Accordingly the Ambaſſador was ſoon after directed to let his Holineſs know, that nothing ſhould be wanting to content him, and that his Maſter had ordered part of his Forces in *Italy* to join *Julius*'s Army, in order to accompliſh his Purpoſe; and all of a ſudden the *Spaniſh* Miniſter was conſulted by the Pope in his moſt important Affairs. Upon this great Intimacy the Ambaſſador adviſed *Julius*, as *Modena* was very ill provided to ſuſtain a Siege, and would, probably, if care was not taken, fall into the Hands of the *French* at the opening of the Campaign; to prevent which, the beſt Way he thought was to put the City into the Hands of the Emperor; for this, he conjectured, would pleaſe *Maximilian*, and that he would return it to him again for the ſake of Money was not to be doubted; whoſe Advice the Pope followed, and the Event anſwered what was propoſed.

Julius grants Ferdinand the Inveſtiture of Naples.

His Holineſs, in Return for the Zeal that *Ferdinand* now expreſſed for his Service, granted him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which before he had refuſed.

However, the King of *Spain* ſtill thought it adviſeable to hold with both Parties, by having Troops in each Army; for the Quarrels between his Neighbours was what he fomented with the utmoſt Induſtry, believing he ſhould thereby make his Friendſhip more conſiderable; and he took care to make thoſe to whom he meaſured it pay dear enough for the Favour.

The Seaſon for Action advancing, *Chaumont*, in the Month of *February*, drew his Forces together and took the Field, deſigning firſt to poſſeſs himſelf of the City of *Modena*; but when he came there he found the Emperor's Standard placed upon the Walls, which induced him to forbear committing Hoſtilities

againſt the Place, and ſoon after he retired to *Correggio*.

Chaumont's Death and Character.

Here he fell ſick, owing, as it was ſaid, to Vexation, in having been ſo cajoled out of his Attempt upon *Bologna*, and on hearing his Conduct was condemned at the Court of *France*. Tho' this Overſight of his had loſt neither Army nor Province from his Maſter, yet the ſettled Grief that preyed upon his Spirits became ſo violent, that he paid the laſt Debt to Nature in the Month of *March*, being but 38 Years of Age. This gallant Man was a good General, and no ways unworthy of the great Offices he bore; and, notwithſtanding the Slip or two that he made, was a faithful, ſkilful, and brave Officer.*

Trivulca ſucceeds him.

Upon *Chaumont's* Death, Marſhal *Trivulca* was conſtituted General in his Stead, and was directed to go in queſt of his Holineſs's and the *Venetian* Armies, who were now buſy in beſieging of *la Baſtia* in the *Ferrareſe*. This General loſt no time, but put his Orders ſo quickly in Execution, that he came up time enough to relieve the Place; and, what was more, the Beſiegers quitted their Poſt with ſo much Precipitation, that they choſe to leave their Artillery and Ammunition a Prize to the *French*, rather than fight for the preſerving them, and retired to *Bucndeno*. *Trivulca*, having carried this Point, marched on and encamped at *Stellata*; where he received Intelligence, that *Leonard de Prato*,

* It's true, this well-meaning General was unhappily led into a *Ceſſation of Arms*, that loſt him almoſt immortal Honour, and his Maſter inexpreſſible Advantages, which might have prevented the many Diſaſters he afterwards fell into: But by whom? A *deſigning Pope*, abounding with *fair Promiſes*; and a *politick Engliſh Biſhop*, replete with them as well as Threats: And who would not at that Time have been deceived by ſuch a Principal and ſuch an Agent? What Views had honeſt *Chaumont?* An *advantageous Peace* with an Enemy, and *Fear of a Rupture* with a Friend. On whom would not, have not, will not, ought not theſe prevail? We wiſh their Harms may make the preſent Powers at War beware.

Prato, a Knight of *Rhodes*, the moſt celebrated Officer in the *Venetian* Service, lay in Ambuſh, with 150 Troopers, near *Mirandola*, to ſurprize ſome of his Parties.

The Duke of *Nemours*, his Majeſty's Nephew, (a young Prince who knew both how to command, and how to obey) was then in *Trivulca*'s Army, and pitched upon to command a Party, with Inſtructions to go in queſt and engage this celebrated Commander, and the Soldiers no ſooner obſerved this hopeful young Prince at their Head, than they ſhewed a more than common degree of Courage.

Duke of Nemours *defeats* Patro's *Party.*

The Duke executed his Orders ſo well, that *Prato*'s Party was entirely defeated, and himſelf killed in the Action, (to the great Grief of the *Venetians*) for whom the Senate erected a moſt magnificent Monument at *Venice*, in all likelihood, by the Honour they did his Memory, to excite the Fidelity and Valour of the Officers in the Service of St. *Mark*.

In the mean time *Trivulca* miſcarried in the Scheme he had laid, of beating up the Quarters of the main Body of the Pope's Troops at *Buendeno*, who had the Duke of *Urbino* at their Head. This put his Holineſs's Forces into a little Heart; ſo that they, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, thought of making a ſecond Attempt upon *la Baſtia*; but the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Fleet ſoon defeated that Project, for his gave Battle to that of *Venice*, (going up the *Po* to favour the Siege) and beat them; wherein the *Venetians* loſt no leſs than 45 Veſſels, and the Remainder were forced to put into a Harbour near *Ravenna*, where the Pope had the Mortification to ſee them enter, which put an End to his Deſign upon *la Baſtia*. Notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, his Holineſs, about the latter End of *March*, made a Promotion of Cardinals at *Ravenna*, in which Archbiſhop *Baynbridge* was included,

Archbiſhop Baynbridge *made a Cardinal.*

included, and the Hat was delivered to him with the uſual Ceremonies. As to the Armies, that which ſoon after followed put a ſtop, for the preſent, to their further Progreſs.

The Biſhop of *Gurck*, having fully executed his Commiſſion with the King of *France*, returned to the Emperor's Court, where he was received with great Diſtinction: At firſt *Maximilian* was very earneſt to have the Treaty, that Prelate had concluded with the *French* Court, immediately put in Execution, and for that End gave Directions for calling an Aſſembly of the Biſhops of his Hereditary Countries, in order to diſpoſe them to meet at the enſuing general Council; but his uſual Inconſtancy, and the natural Averſion he bore to *France*, ſtill being uppermoſt, made him of a ſudden change his Mind, and countermand the Meeting of his Biſhops, being alſo willing to know firſt what ſhould be propoſed to him by the King of *Spain*, who was now labouring, in Conjunction with the *Pope*, to ſet *Lewis* and the Emperor at Variance, which they thought to effect, under Pretence of holding a Congreſs at *Mantua*, to compoſe the Differences that had ariſen in *Italy*. To cover this Deſign the King of *Spain* ordered his Ambaſſador, as if the Propoſal came from himſelf, publickly to ſpeak of it to the Pope, who ſeemed readily to accept of it; then he ſent the like Propoſal to the Emperor, accompanied with a long Repreſentation, wherein he ſet forth, "That he (the Emperor) was "going to engage himſelf in Affairs very doubtful: "That if the Calling a General Council ſhould ſucceed, it might ſtretch it's Authority further than "was convenient for the Emperor: That the Emperors were in Poſſeſſion of the firſt *humble Requeſts*, as they call them, in the Churches of *Germany*, and of ſuch Prerogatives, in the Election of Biſhops, as put vacant Sees in their Diſpoſal; "and

Congreſs at Mantua propoſed.

" and of many other Rights very important to the " Imperial Crown, but burthenſome to the *German* " Clergy: That this Council, being owned and ſub- " mitted to by all the Faithful, would probably aboliſh " thoſe Rights, the actual Exerciſe of which gave " him the moſt ſolid Title: That his Imperial Ma- " jeſty's moſt eſſential Intereſt was, to oblige the " *Venetians* to give him due Satisfaction: That he " would himſelf undertake to procure that, without " any Danger or Difficulty to *Maximilian*: That, if " the Emperor would ſend a Miniſter to *Mantua*, " he would undertake, that *Julius* ſhould do the " ſame; and that the Pope ſhould ſpare no Pains, " to oblige the ſullen *Venetians* to give the Empe- " ror ſuch Satisfaction as might put an End to all " Differences, his Holineſs's Influence over them " being that of their *Protector*: That by this Means " the Emperor might enter into Poſſeſſion of the Do- " minions allotted him by the League of *Cambray*, " without the dubious Aſſiſtance of the King of " *France*, or making that dangerous Attempt of call- " ing a General Council."

Biſhop of Gurck *ſent to* Mantua.

Maximilian was highly pleaſed with theſe Repreſentations, and immediately reſolved not only to ſend the Biſhop of *Gurck* to *Mantua*, in Quality of his Plenipotentiary, but to ſtop all his other Projects againſt the Pope, till the Iſſue of this Congreſs was known, upon Condition his Holineſs ſuperceded all Proceedings againſt the malecontent Cardinals, and forbore harraſſing the Duke of *Ferrara*, leaving all other Matters in Diſpute to be ſettled at *Mantua*.

Julius, ſeemingly with great Joy, agreed to what the Emperor propoſed, not ſo much out of Regard to the Quiet of *Italy*, as in Hopes, by this Fineſſe, to engage *Maximilian* to his Intereſt, and prevail on him to break with *France*, by rendering *Lewis* the XIIth's Aſſiſtance uſeleſs to him.

The

The Emperor, having thus taken this ſudden Reſolution, communicated it to the King of *France*, repreſenting, " That, in order to render the Pope in-" tirely inexcuſable, another Offer ſhould be made " to him, after which, in Caſe he refuſed to comply, " they ſhould not think themſelves obliged to obſerve " any Meaſures with him." And further aſſured the King, " That he would make no Treaty with " *Julius*, unleſs he would give all due Satisfaction to " *France*;" and therefore intreated him to ſend a Miniſter forthwith to the Congreſs, to be held at *Mantua*. *Ferdinand* alſo wrote to the King of *France* on the ſame Head, and inſinuated " That nothing could " be more worthy a *moſt Chriſtian* King, than to " forego ſome of his Rights, by conſenting to a " Peace with the Pope, and thereby wipe the Tears " from his Holineſs's Eyes.

Lewis *alarmed.*

Lewis, finding ſo good an Underſtanding between *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, was not a little ſurpriſed, and the more ſo, becauſe *Maximilian* had lately given *Lewis* juſt Grounds of Diſtruſt by the following Tranſactions: The *Swiſs*, being Enemies to the moſt Chriſtian King, had already committed Hoſtilities againſt him, without making a Declaration of War. *Maximilian* (who till then had looked upon them as a Parcel of Country Fellows that had revolted from him, and murdered his Father-in-law) laid hold on this Juncture to treat with them, and renewed the Agreement, formerly made between *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtria* and the Cantons; in which *Maximilian* conſented to grant the *Swiſs* free Paſſage through his Country, a Favour much to the Diſadvantage of the *French*, with whom they were at Variance. Yet the King of *France* was unwilling to give *Maximilian* any Pretence for a Rupture with him, which made him conſent (as if he did it purely to oblige the Emperor) to ſend a Miniſter to *Mantua*. The Perſon pitched upon

on was *Stephen Bouchier*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*; the *Venetians* likewiſe conſented to ſend a Miniſter to the ſaid Congreſs; upon which all Parties agreed Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, till the Iſſue of it was known; and *Lewis* himſelf, to be near at hand in caſe any thing ſhould be therein propoſed that might require his Approbation, proceeded as far as *Lyons*.

The Biſhop of *Gurck* was the firſt that arrived at *Mantua*, who was ſoon joined by the Biſhop of *Paris* and the other Miniſters. The Pope, finding that the Plenipotentiaries were arrived, reſolved to make his Advantage of their Condeſcenſion, by endeavouring to ſeparate the *German* from the *French* Prelate, and get the former to attend him at *Bologna*, whither he was gone to be alſo near at hand upon this Occaſion. *Jerom de Vich*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, undertook to manage this Matter. Firſt he communicated the Pope's Deſire, of having but one Miniſter to treat with, to the Biſhop of *Gurck*, who agreed to it, provided the Biſhop of *Paris* conſented. *De Vich* was one of that Sort of Miniſters, who did not ſtick to endeavour to perſuade every one he had to treat with, that what his Maſter was doing was purely for their Intereſt. This cunning Ambaſſador laid before the Biſhop of *Paris*, with great Dexterity and much ſeeming Affection, how much it would be for the Advantage both of *Maximilian* and *Lewis* to be repreſented by one Miniſter, and the more ſo, if a Prelate was the Perſon, by Reaſon of the great Deference Sovereign Princes generally paid them; and aſſured him, that his Holineſs would look on ſuch Compliance as a high Mark of Reſpect paid him by them all. Theſe Repreſentations anſwered the End propoſed, for the *French* Miniſter was prevailed upon to conſent, that the Biſhop of *Gurck* ſhould alone attend the Pope.

The

Bish. of Gurck goes about to Bologna.

The Bishop of *Gurck* set out for *Bologna*, at the Gates of which he was met by all the Pope's Courtiers, who conducted him to the Consistory, before whom, in a formal Speech, he declared "That his Master "had chose rather to send him into *Italy* than an "Army; not but that he was able to assert his Pre-"tensions by Force of Arms; but that, being a "*Christian* Emperor, he chose rather to recover his "Right by the milder Way of a Treaty, than by the "Violence of a bloody War; insinuating, that the "*Venetians* were to expect no Peace from his Master, "unless they restored all they detained from the "Empire, and the House of *Austria* in particular; "and that his Master would not agree to any Treaty "with them, unless the King of *France*, and the *Duke* "of *Ferrara* were included in it."

The Ceremonial being over, and the Pope retired out of the Consistory, he named three Commissioners to confer with this Prelate: And the Bishop of *Gurck*, thinking it beneath his Character to treat with any one but his Holiness, also appointed three of his Gentlemen to confer with those the Pope had commissioned. This Behaviour no way pleased the Pope, tho' himself set the Example; but, judging it necessary at this Time to wave Punctillio's, he ordered his Commissioners to proceed.

The Pope, having mostly in View the obtaining a separate Peace between the Emperor and the Republick of *Venice*, the Conferences opened on that Head; but the Bishop of *Gurck*'s three Gentlemen carried it as high in their Demands from the *Venetians*, as their Master had done in the Ceremonial with the Pope, and refused to abate one Jot of what the Bishop had insisted upon in his Speech to the Consistory.

Tho' this continued *Julius*'s Uneasiness, he assiduously endeavoured to prevail on the Bishop of *Gurck*

to

to abate ſomewhat of his firſt Demands, but to no purpoſe.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, when he heard what the Pope inſiſted upon, ſeemed to be much diſguſted at his Holineſs's Deſigns, which, he pretended, were contrary to the Intention of his Maſter; and in the mean time, as nothing could be agreed on at this Meeting, the Biſhop, without further Ceremony, quitted *Bologna*, as did the other Miniſters *Mantua*, as ſoon as the Reſult of the Biſhop's Conferences were known; and thus ended this *pious* Meeting.

The Engliſh *Ambaſſador not invited to the Congreſs.*

It's remarkable, that, tho' the Pope and the King of *Spain* pretended ſuch high Value for the King of *England*, they dropped Cardinal *Baynbridge*, and neither conſulted him in relation to holding the Congreſs, or deſired his Preſence therein. A very *grateful* Return, on *Julius*'s Part, for his Deliverance at *Bologna*.

As the Conference was broke off, *Trivulca* took the Field on the firſt of *May*, with an Army of 1200 Spear-men, and 17,000 Foot, very impatient, as *Guicciardin* relates, to ſhew his Maſter how much he was to blame, for not ſending ſooner old and experienced Officers to command his Troops, inſtead of putting that Command into the Hands of unſkilful young Men, who had nothing to plead but *Favour*.*

Trivulca *takes* Concorda.

The firſt Place *Trivulca* met with was *Concorda*, where the Pope's Troops defended themſelves ſo ill, that it was no

* Both our *Fleet* and *Army* have, of late Years, not been without ſome ſuch *Gentlemen*, who have been put over the Heads of thoſe that have merited *Commiſſions* by long and faithful Services: And even many of our brave Men, on the Decline of Years and Nature, have been puſhed out from the Enjoyment of the Comforts, generouſly provided for them (nay, what they had in part paid for) in our Hoſpitals, by Wretches that have ſcarce ſeen a Campaign, or a Sea-fight: and all truly by the Dint of Mrs. *Favour*'s circumventing *deſerved Merit*.

ſooner attacked than taken. From *Concordia*, *Trivulca* marched directly to *Buon-porto*, on the *Panaro*, and encamped there with deſign to cut off the Proviſions the Pope's Army received from *Bologna*, who ſtill kept cloſe in their Poſt at *Buondeno*, and tho' they were joined with the *Venetian* Forces, they did not care to face *Trivulca*. He next endeavoured to lay a Bridge over the *Panaro*; but, underſtanding the Enemy had poſted themſelves on the Banks of the River, he reſolved to march his Army up the River to find a more convenient Place to paſs it. The Enemy kept Pace with them on the Right, while the *French* were marching upon the Left, inſomuch that the *French* were obliged to advance higher than *Modena*, and to enter among the little Hills that lie at the Foot of the *Appennine* Mountains. There are many Fords in the *Panaro* among theſe Hills, (and the Banks of it thereabouts are very low) over one of which *Trivulca* marched his Army, and encamped within three Miles of the Enemy, for whom he had been too nimble; and they, not having the Aſſiſtance of Nature any further, left them in the Poſſeſſion of the Field, and went and encamped at *Caſalechio*.

Trivulca was in great doubt for a time whether he ſhould make an Attempt upon *Bologna*, or take his Rout another Way; but at laſt he reſolved to march on, being attended by the *Bentivogli*. Upon the firſt Notice of the *French* Army's decamping *Julius* left *Bologna*, with a Deſign to put himſelf at the Head of his own and the *Venetian* Troops, thinking that, by his Preſence, the Generals would be prevailed on to give the Enemy Battle; but when he conſidered the Dangers he muſt needs be expoſed to, ſhould he go to the Army, and afterwards find himſelf involved in the Confuſion of a loſt Battle, he determined to ſtop and return to *Bologna*, which Place he entered in great Confuſion.

Soon

Soon after he thought of retiring to *Ravenna*, to ſhelter himſelf from the impending Storm; but, before he put this Remove in Execution, he called together the Senate of *Bologna*, and repreſented to them with all the Earneſtneſs he could then expreſs, "How much it was for the "Intereſt of the *Bolognois* to continue "faithful to him, and of what Con- "ſequence it was to them not to receive the *Bentivo-* "*gli*, whom they had exaſperated, by the Affronts "and Diſgrace they had put upon them." The chief Leader of that Body aſſured his Holineſs of the People's Fidelity in the extravagant and prolix Stile cuſtomary to the *Bolognois*.

The Pope's Speech to the Senate of Bologna.

On the 14th of *May*, *Julius* quitted *Bologna*, (where he left the Cardinal of *Pavia* in Quality of Legate) with very great Reluctance, and retired to *Ravenna*; but, by that time the Pope got himſelf off, the Alarm, that the *French* were in *Bologna*, cauſed the Streets to ring with, *Long live the* Bentivogli! *Long live* France! Tho' their Army was yet a Day's March from the Town.

The Cardinal of *Pavia*, ſeeing this Change, made the beſt of his way to *Imola*; and the Soldiers of the Garriſon leaped down the Walls of the City to make their Eſcape, leaving only a handful of the boldeſt of them ſhut up in the Citadel.

As ſoon as the Legate was gone the Senate declared for the *Bentivogli*, who were received with the utmoſt Joy; and not a Man of the Pope's Soldiers could have eſcaped, had *Trivulca* kept Pace with the *Bentivogli*; but he was five Miles diſtant, when he received the News that his Holineſs's Party were fled. However, the Diligence the *French* Army uſed, and the Diſturbance the Light-horſe made, that had accompanied the *Bentivogli*, by charging them often in their Retreats, gave *Trivulca* time enough to overtake their Rear,

They declare for the Bentivogli.

who had left behind them the whole Baggage and Artillery of their Army. This Event happened on the 21ſt of *May*,* and the Day following *Trivulca* reſted at *Bologna*. The Citadel whereof, erected by *Julius*, ſoon ſurrendered, when *Vitfroſt*, the Emperor's Commiſſary in *Italy*, warmly demanded, that it ſhould be put into his Hands, being, as he pretended, an Imperial Fief: But the *Bolognois*, fearing there might a Juncture happen, when they ſhould be obliged to give him Satisfaction in this Matter, immediately reſolved to raze it to the Ground; and the People, believing they ſhould lay the Foundation of their Liberty upon the Ruin of this Citadel, wrought ſo hard on the Demolition, that in two Days there was no Appearance of the Spot it ſtood on.

Citadel of Bologna deſtroyed.

From *Bologna*, the indefatigable, yet diſcreet General marched and orderly encamped at *Caſtel San Pietro*, on the Frontiers of the *Bologneſe*, towards the Dominions of the Church, and did not intend to enter thoſe Countries in a hoſtile manner, till ſuch time as he ſhould receive freſh Orders from the King, thoſe he had before only impowering him to re-eſtabliſh the *Bentivogli* in *Bologna*, (yet he alſo diſengaged the Duke of *Ferrara* from *holy* Fetters) according to what had been agreed upon in the Aſſembly at *Tours*; for which Reaſon he refuſed the Keys of *Imola*.

One

* *Julius* having ordered a Statue to be ſet up in Honour of himſelf, in the largeſt Square of the City, the Townſmen, in their Fury, threw it down, and broke it in Pieces. This Statue repreſented him ſtanding in the Poſture and Habit of a Soldier, holding up, however, his Right Hand towards Heaven, as if he were giving his Benediction. The famous *Michael Angelo* was the Sulptor; but, whether owing to the Character of the Hero, or the admirable Workmanſhip, it imprinted Terror, rather than inſpired Devotion in the Spectators. The ſetting it up gave great Offence to the People of *Bologna*; but when the Pope heard how the *Bolognois* muttered, he ſaid, *As they have behaved, ſo ſhall they be rewarded or puniſhed.*

JULIUS. II.

One would think, by this Time, his Holineſs had got a thorough Taſte, if not almoſt a Glut, of Military Operations: But ſuch was the Ungovernableneſs of his *Spirit Eccleſiaſtick*, that, once mounted on the Pinion of Ambition, it was not to be controuled: For,

Tho' the Loſs of *Bologna* gave *Julius* a good deal of Vexation, it being the ſecond Town in the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, he valued himſelf for having reunited, yet he could not forbear projecting new Schemes of War with the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors: But there happened Murder in his own Court, that did greatly affect him for a while.

The Cardinal of Pavia *murdred at* Ravenna.

The Cardinal of *Pavia*, coming to *Ravenna*, to clear himſelf from the malicious Report that was ſpread of him, as if the Loſs of *Bologna* was owing either to his Negligence or Treachery, the Pope, on the Cardinal's Arrival, ſent him Word, that he would give him Audience after Dinner. The Duke of *Urbino*, the Pope's Nephew, hearing of this, way-laid the Cardinal, fell upon him, and killed him with a Dagger, from a meer Apprehenſion that he had done him ill Offices with his Uncle.*

The

* It was greatly ſuſpected, that *Julius*, perſuaded of the Cardinal of *Pavia*'s Treachery, had puſhed the Duke of *Urbino* on; and we find the Pope charged with it in a Dialogue between St. *Peter* and *Julius*, publiſhed immediately after the Pope's Death, ſuppoſed by ſome to be written by old ſarcaſtical *Eraſmus*. But the cotemporary Authors ſpeak of it with Indignation; and *Eraſmus* himſelf ſtrenuouſly diſowned it, ſaying in his *Epiſtles* (Book ix. Epiſt. 1.) "He who wrote it deſerves to "be put into *Bedlam*, and he "that publiſhed it ought to be "hang'd." Nor does the perpetrating ſuch a Crime agree with the Character of *Julius*, who, though a Man of a warm Temper and high Spirit, had no ſuch Meanneſs and Baſeneſs of Soul, that ſurely dwelt in the Wretch that could be guilty thereof, beſides, had *Julius* been perſuaded of the Cardinal's Treachery, he might have taken him off with a Shew of Juſtice, by cauſing the common Executioner to have diſpatched him.

The Pope's Grief was inexpreſſible when he received the News of this Aſſaſſination, not only on Account of his Kinſman's Crime, but for that he had loſt a Man in whom he greatly confided, who was intirely devoted to his Service, at a Time when he had the greateſt Occaſion for him.

This ſhocking Murder of his moſt favourite Cardinal made *Julius*'s Abode at *Revenna* almoſt inſupportable, and therefore he ſoon returned to *Rome*; when, to compleat his Affliction, he had the Mortification, as he went thro' *Rimini*, to ſee a Placard ſet up for the calling of a general Council, to be held in *Piſa*, in the Month of *September* following.

Lewis forbids rejoicing.

On the other hand *Lewis* ſhewed great Conduct as well as a true Chriſtian Spirit, when he received the News of the Defeat of the Pope's Army, on which he iſſued out Orders throughout his Dominions, ſtrictly forbidding all Expreſſions of publick Joy, uſually ſhewn for Victories obtained over an Enemy; and diſpatched an Expreſs to General *Trivulca*, not only to forbear all further Hoſtilities againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, but to march back the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*. And here we cannot help remarking, that the more proſperous this warlike Prince was, the more Clemency he ſhewed his Enemies: But not ſo with *Julius*; for, as no Adverſity could abate his Haughtineſs, ſo no Clemency could make him kind; and the more Deference the moſt Chriſtian King ſhewed him, the more inſolent he grew.

The Bentivogli *deſire a Reconciliation.*

The *Bentivogli* too, notwithſtanding the cruel Treatment they had met with from the Pope, were ſo far from committing any Hoſtilities, on the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, that they implored the Favour of the Pope in as ſubmiſſive Terms, as they could have uſed had *Bologna* been in his Hands. Thoſe Lords made an Offering to acknowledge him their Lord Paramont, and

and to hold the Fief of *Bologna* of him in the ſame Manner as their Anceſtors had held it of his Predeceſſors.

But, inſtead of returning a kind Anſwer to their Propoſal, *Julius* (with all the Vehemence of an intoxicated *High Prieſt*) excommunicated the *Bentivogli*, and ſent *Colonna* at the Head of his ſhattered Army, which *Trivulca*'s Negligence had given him Time to reaſſemble, to harraſs the Territories of *Bologna*: *Colonna* obeyed, but was ſoon obliged to retire; which Action gives the finiſhing Stroke to his Holineſs's Character.

Biſhop of Gurck *arrives at* Milan.

The Biſhop of *Gurck*, when he left *Bologna*, went on to *Milan*, where he found the malecontent Cardinals, and they agreed that the calling a general Council ſhould be no longer delayed; and the Writs for aſſembling it at *Piſa*, in the Month of *September* following, were diſperſed all over *Chriſtendom*.

Two Writs were publiſhed, *May* the 16th, for calling this Aſſembly, one in the Name of the Emperor and the moſt Chriſtian King, the other in the Name of the malecontent Cardinals; and both contained almoſt the ſame Thing, declaring, "That "the Deſign of calling the Council was to reform "the Church, both in it's Head and Members, and "to puniſh thoſe notorious Crimes, committed, by "obſtinate and incorrigible Perſons, for a long time, "to the great Scandal of the Univerſal Church: "That there was no Ground to hope, his Holineſs "would ever call one, he having not only neglected "ſo to do, but often eluded the Motions made for "it, and broke all his Promiſes relating to this Mat-"ter." * Herein alſo the Pope himſelf was ſummoned to appear at the Council, in a high Strain, though very reſpectful.

Whether

* This is the Subſtance of thoſe Deeds, which ſee at Length in the *Conſtitutions of Golderſt*, Vol. I.

The Council of Piſa opened

On the Firſt of *September* the Proctors of the Cardinals repaired to *Piſa*, and celebrated in their Names the Acts appertaining to the Opening of the Council, which highly enraged the Pope againſt the *Florentines*, for that they countenanced the *Council of Devils*, (for ſo he always called them) which Offence he declared, that both *Florence* and *Piſa* were ſubject to be excommunicated,* and to endure all Pains ordained by the Laws againſt Schiſmaticks, and threatned to invade them with Arms.

On the Opening of the Council the five Cardinals took up their Reſidence at the Borough of *St. Donyn*, where they waited for the Arrival of the *German* and *French* Prelates; but at laſt they reſolved to appear in Perſon at the Council.

Before they entered *Piſa*, one of them died, and the other four were but coldly received by the Magiſtrates, and much worſe by the common People, his Holineſs's Threats had ſo ſtrongly influenced them. Never was General Council ſo thin, nor had leſs Reſpect ſhewn them; inſomuch, that they perceived it dangerous to remain there, without Arms; therefore they determined to depart that City, which they did ſooner than they at firſt intended, on account of a great Tumult, occaſioned by a Strumpet's being ill uſed by the *French* Soldiers.

The ſecond Seſſion of the Council.

The ſecond Seſſion was held on the 22d of *November*, when they adjourned to *Milan*, to the no ſmall Joy of the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, and to the no leſs liking of the Prelates that followed the Council, who did not a little diſlike the Place, they being there unprovided

* Whether the calling this Council was right or wrong, *Julius* was certainly to blame in ſending out Excommunications on a Quarrel, where neither Points of Religion, nor the Preſervation of the Rights and Dominions of the Church were concerned; for, if his Quarrel had been juſt, he ought to have endeavoured to redreſs himſelf by the Means common to Princes.

vided with good Lodging and other Neceſſaries, upon which *Guicciardin* obſerves, "They were deprived of "Living in that Delicacy and Prodigality that Perſons "of all Profeſſions and Degrees were wont to find in "the like Aſſemblies." But, when the Council came to *Milan*, the People there ſhewed greater Diſreſpect toward them, than what they had met with at *Piſa*, which put them again upon adjourning; and thoſe that were left of them (near half being gone home) fixed upon *Lyons* in *France*, where they met purſuant to their Adjournment. To this Place they ſummoned the Pope to appear, and anſwer to the Crimes laid to his Charge; and, on Failure, decreed forthwith to ſuſpend his Authority. His Holineſs on his Part treated them with the utmoſt Contempt, and ſent out thundering Bulls againſt *France*, excommunicated their King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, and empowered any Chriſtian Prince to conquer that and *Navarre*. Then he gave Directions to ſummon another Council, to be held at the *Lateran* at *Rome*, on the 3d of *May*, 1512.

Lewis now conferred the Government of the *Milaneſe* on the Duke of *Nemours*, a young Prince, who, though not 23 Years of Age, had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Bravery, was thought worthy of this important Poſt: And *Trivulca* readily reſigned his Command to him, this General being provided for elſewhere.

The Swiſs again aſſiſt the Pope.

The Biſhop of *Sion*, (whom the Pope had lately made a Cardinal) prevailed on the *Switzers* to raiſe an Army to aſſiſt him in his Diſtreſs, promiſing to pay them a large Sum of Money on their entring *Italy*, and that a large Body of Troops ſhould join theirs. Theſe Propoſals they readily accepted of and cauſed an Army of no leſs than 16,000 Men (though in *November*) inſtantly to march, who ſoon arrived at the very Gates of *Milan*.

The Duke of *Nemours* followed General *Chaumont*'s Maxim, of chuſing rather to watch their Motions than

than fall on them, which had the deſired Effect; for the *Swiſs*, having the Mortification to be diſappointed both of the Money and Troops, and to meet with nothing but Hunger and Cold, were very glad to return home: Thus ended the ſecond *Swiſs* Expedition.

Affairs of Spain *and* Italy. 1511.

After the Miniſters had broke up the Meeting at *Mantua*, the King of *Spain* kept a watchful Eye on what was tranſacting in *Italy*; and, as the Face of Things were there greatly altered, he ſtily redoubled his Military Preparations, which the neighbouring Princes got Intelligence of.

The *French* Ambaſſador in particular enquired, for what Uſe *Ferdinand* was raiſing ſo many Forces? and was anſwered, That they were deſigned to be employed againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*; which his Holineſs then believing, and, as his Affairs were in a declining State, expreſſed his Willingneſs to enter into a Negotiation with *Lewis*, in order to end their Diſputes in an amicable Way, and for that Purpoſe the Biſhop of *Murray*, the *Scotch* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, acted the Part of a Mediator.

Ferdinand was not a little ſtartled at this Turn, being afraid, in caſe the Pope made a ſeparate Peace with *France*, the Kingdom of *Naples* might be in Danger; tho' the holy Father had no leſs Reaſon to fear, that *Ferdinand*, to ſecure *Naples*, would forſake the Church, and expoſe her to the Mercy of *France*; and, if that ſhould be the Caſe, knowing *Ferdinand*'s Intereſt in *England*, he could not tell whether he might not be deprived of that King's Aſſiſtance alſo. But theſe Clouds ſoon cleared up; for when *Ferdinand* heard, that *Lewis*'s Army was got back to *Milan*, his *African* Expedition was no more talked of; and that of ſuccouring the Pope (whom we may now properly call poor *Julius* the IId) became the chief Diſcourſe in the Court of *Spain*.

As

As ſoon as the Pope was made ſenſible, that *Ferdinand* was fully reſolved to ſend an Army to his Aſſiſtance, he again greatly careſſed the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and a League, which had been for ſome time ſet on Foot, between the Pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*, againſt *France*, was now ſigned; and all the Articles were alſo negotiated and ſettled, with the King of *England*'s Conſent, by his Ambaſſador *Baynbridge*.*

The concluding this League ſoon made the Pope change his Note; for, inſtead of agreeing with *France*, or to what he firſt propoſed to the *Scotch* Ambaſſador, he added new Terms to the former, and plainly ſhewed he was no longer for Peace. This more and more exaſperated *Lewis*, which made him now deſpair of agreeing with ſo obſtinate an Enemy, and therefore ordered his Generals to provide againſt the worſt that might happen.

Maximilian all this Time was at *Inſpruck*, unſtable as ever, full of vaſt Projects, but executing none; ſometimes going to *Rome* to make himſelf Sovereign of the *Romans*; ſometimes for compleating his Conqueſts in the *Terra firma*: But, had his Reſolution been ſtrong, his Finances rendered him incapable. However, he demanded new Succours from *Lewis*, which Demands generally involved the moſt Chriſtian King in new Troubles; by granting them, he knew he ſhould drain his Coffers, and by refuſing them, he was ſure to have *Maximilian* take ſudden Meaſures, which might ruin the Affairs of *France*; this obliged him to ſupply *Maximilian*, for fear of giving him a Pretence to change Sides, eſpecially as he was ſtrongly ſollicited by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*: But the Emperor's not declaring himſelf, and receiving Propoſals from every Quarter, became at laſt equally ſuſpected by all Parties.

* Here it appears, that the very Countenance or Conſent of the Crown of *England* had then great Weight.

The King of *Spain*, being now determined to aſſiſt the Pope, immediately ſhipped his Forces for *Naples*, where they ſoon arrived; but reſtleſs Pope *Julius*, always fraught with Schemes of Action, as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* Troops were refreſhed, preſſed *Raymond de Cardone*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to ſend them to join his and the *Venetian* Army, offering to command the whole in Perſon, which the Viceroy agreed to: Yet, before the Armies could be got together, this Year expired. In ſhort, *Lewis* now ſaw himſelf upon the Point of being attacked by the Forces of the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the *Venetians*, in Conjunction; and how far old *Ferdinand*'s Projects in *Italy* ſucceeded, the enſuing Year will ſhew.

Affairs of Scotland *and* England. 1511.

James the IVth of *Scotland*'s Remorſe, for taking Arms againſt his Father, continued, which made him purſue his former Reſolution of viſiting the holy Sepulchre, and for that End *Robert Black-a-Toure*, Abbot of *Dunfermling*, was directed to ſet out to prepare Matters for the King's Reception in the *Holy Land*; but the Abbot's dying on his Journey ſtopt his Majeſty's Progreſs; and Affairs, of much greater Conſequence to his People, ſoon fell out to employ his Majeſty's Time, which were no leſs than the Preſervation of their Rights and Liberties.

Henry the VIIIth thought proper at this Time to ſee how King *James* ſtood affected towards him, and, if poſſible, to remove any Pretence for quarrelling, in caſe he ſhould determine to take the Pope's Part againſt *France*, which was the more neceſſary, as the *Scots* had maintained a ſtrict Alliance with the *French* for many Years. For this Purpoſe he ſent Sir *Thomas Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Drury* into *Scotland*, to learn *James*'s real Intentions; but this Precaution was ſoon followed by Matters of more Moment.

One *Andrew Breton*, a *Scotchman*, was about this Time baſely murdered by the *Portugueſe*, and his Ship

ſiezed.

ſiezed. On this his Son, *Andrew*, complaining to King *James*, his Majeſty ſent an Agent into *Portugal*, to demand Satisfaction for this Outrage; which not obtaining, he gave *Breton* Letters of Marque and Repriſal. Whereupon *Breton* equipped two ſtout Ships, put to Sea, and in a ſhort time made himſelf ſome amends, by taking and rummaging ſeveral *Portugal* Ships trading to *Flanders* and *England*; nay, he became ſo daring at laſt, as to attack and take *Engliſh* Ships.

A bold Scot *ſiezed* Engliſh *Ships.*

Of theſe Proceedings our Merchants complained, and the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, reſiding at *London*, repreſented to the Council, that, ſince the King of *England* claimed the Sovereignty of the *Narrow Seas*, it was reaſonable he ſhould protect the Ships that came into the Channel. The Council immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to his Majeſty, then, in the Courſe of his Tour, at *Leiceſter*, to acquaint him with the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador's Repreſentation, and our Merchants Complaints.

The King, juſt before this Complaint, had raiſed Sir *Edward Howard* to the Dignity of an Admiral; his Majeſty did not think it needful, on this Occaſion, to ſend to his Ambaſſadors into *Scotland* to demand Satisfaction, but ordered his Admiral to ſail with two Men of War in queſt of *Breton*,* or any other that ſhould preſume to diſpute the Sovereignty of thoſe Seas, or interrupt the free Commerce of his Subjects; which Orders *Howard* ſo well executed, that he ſoon met with, and engaged *Breton*, who fought ſo bravely, that, after he was mortally wounded, he encouraged his Men with a Whiſtle to fight to the laſt; yet his Ships were taken and brought into *England*, where himſelf died of his Wounds.

This

* A true *Engliſh* Spirit! May it continue! For, we apprehend, a ſpeedy Reſentment and Repriſal often make a ſhort End of a Moleſtation and Miſunderſtanding.

This Step greatly enraged the King of *Scotland*, who ſent Meſſengers to *England* to demand Satisfaction: To whom the King's Council made anſwer, "That "Pirates were not included in Treaties of Peace; "but, in regard the Priſoners were the Subjects of "the Crown of *Scotland*, tho' they deſerved Death, "his Majeſty had pardoned them."

This Anſwer by no means pleaſed the *Scotch* King; therefore he proteſted againſt this Injuſtice, as he was pleaſed to term it. Upon this *Henry*, his two Miniſters returning without Succeſs, concluded, that, ſhould he take Part with any of the Princes of *Europe* againſt *France*, the *Scotch* would engage on their Behalf.

Affairs of England. 1511.

The beginning of this Year an Affair happened, that occaſioned great Joy both in the *Engliſh* Court, and thro' the Nation in general. We mean the Birth of a young Prince, who was, on the firſt of *January*, born at *Richmond*, and chriſtened *Henry*; but it laſted not long, for the young Prince died before the end of *February*, and was buried in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel in *Weſtminſter Abbey*.

Ferdinand *amuſes* Henry.

Old *Ferdinand* much endeavoured to engage *Henry* in the League, he was forming with the Pope againſt *France*, judging, as he was rich and powerful, ſuch a Junction would add great Weight to it, and extremely incommode *Lewis*: And, as uſual, the *Spaniſh* King abounded with Diſſimulation, pretending, that he had nothing in View but the Peace of *Europe*; that it was his Deſire all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* ſhould join in a War againſt the *Infidels*; and, under this Pretext, he demanded of his Son-in-law 1000 *Engliſh* Archers, to be employed in the Expedition he pretended was going on againſt the *Moors*: To which *Henry*, apprehending him in earneſt, readily complied, and appointed

appointed Sir *Thomas D'Arcy*, (on whom he conferred the Title of Baron*) to command that ſmall Body of Men; and wrote his Father-in-Law a very reſpectful Letter, wherein he begged he would not hazard his ſacred Perſon in the Expedition, but ſend ſome able General to command in his ſtead. Theſe Forces embarked the Beginning of *May* at *Plymouth* for *Spain*, and among other Perſons of Diſtinction, who accompanied his Lordſhip, were the Lord *Anthony Grey*, (one of the Marquis of *Dorſet*'s Brothers) Sir *Henry Guilford*, and *William Sidney*, Eſq; † who all landed at *Cadiz*, *June* the 1ſt, and were received by *Ferdinand* very kindly; who immediately diſpatched a Letter filled with many Compliments, and, in a moſt religious Strain, tells his dutiful Son-in-Law, "That "nevertheleſs we confeſs ourſelves very much obli-"ged to you, not only for the Army which you "have been pleaſed ſo generouſly to aſſign us, for "this holy Expedition, but alſo for your moſt pru-"dent and affectionate Advice, which we ſhould moſt "readily follow, if our Expedition was of ſuch a Na-"ture as did not require our immediate Preſence, "and might as well be conducted by any of our "Generals: And we are not ignorant, that many "are the Toils, and great the Danger, which we "muſt encounter with, as well by Sea as Land; "but when we conſider the much greater Labours, "and even the Death on the Croſs, which our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt (for whoſe Honour and Glory we "have undertaken this Expedition) went through and "ſuffered for us, nothing can happen to us in it, "which we ſhall think Labour, but rather our moſt "deſireable and ſweeteſt Reſt; nor ſhall we reckon "any

* From this worthy Nobleman the preſent Right Honourable *Robert D'Arcy*, Earl of *Holderneſs*, is deſcended, and has Iſſue, by his late Counteſs, (one of the Daughters of the famous Duke of *Schomberg*) one Son and a Daughter living.

† From this Gentleman the preſent Right Honourable *Joceline*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, is deſcended.

" any Loſs too great for obtaining the greateſt " Gain; but we truſt and hope in his Mercy, as " we are preparing to make this Expedition, and " going into ſuch a War, that he will favour his " own Cauſe, and help us in fighting for him."

Ferdinand beſtowed extraordinary Honours on the Officers that commanded theſe Forces, particularly the Honour of Knighthood on Sir *Henry Guilford*, —— *Weſton*, and —— *Brown*; and gave alſo to Sir *Henry Guilford* a Canton of *Granada*, and to *Weſton* and *Brown* an Eagle of *Sicily*, for the Augmentation of their Arms; but we do not find any other Uſe was made of this ſmall Body of Troops, than that, after he had detained them ſome time in *Spain*, they were at Liberty to return Home, informing their Commander, that very weighty Reaſons determined him to lay aſide his *Mooriſh* Expedition for this Year; but, before they departed, he ſhewed extraordinary Favours both to the inferior Officers and private Men; ſo that all expreſſed their Satisfaction at the Treatment they had met with: And it ſoon after appeared, he never had any Thoughts of ſuch Expedition againſt the *Moors*; for thoſe very Forces, which he alledged he had raiſed to go againſt them, he employed againſt *France*. In ſhort, both Officers and Soldiers, upon their Arrival in *England*, took care to blaze abroad the kind Treatment they had met with in *Spain*, which anſwered *Ferdinand*'s End; for by that Means he became very popular in *England*, and was then eſteemed one of his Majeſty's moſt faithful Allies.

The Pope and Venetians *Deſigns on* England.

During this Time both the Pope and the *Venetians* were uſing all Endeavours, to prevail with our King to join in a League againſt *Lewis* the XIIth, and great Care was taken to render all this good Prince's Actions in the moſt odious Light; the latter ſent an Ambaſſador to aſſiſt the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador

dor in his Deſign of drawing the young King into the projected League; Monſieur *Rapin* affirms, that the Pope conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon Archbiſhop *Baynbridge*, purely on the Account of his labouring to ſet *Henry* at Variance with *France*. But the *Venetians*, to cover their real Deſign, gave out, that they ſent their Ambaſſador to *England* with no other View, than to thank the King for his Care to reconcile them to the Pope, which ſeemed probable; for that *Baynbridge* had had particular Inſtructions to aſſiſt them in getting the Abſolution before-mentioned.

Now it was but too evident, that theſe three artful Powers ſaw, that theſe Propoſals were favourably received in *England*, and that her Sovereign was in their Intereſt, which they perceived by his Majeſty's Declaration, "That, though the Kingdom was in Tran-"quillity, he wiſhed his Subjects would be in Readi-"neſs to ſerve him, as well againſt an Invaſion, if "any was intended, as in Defence of his Allies;" which could reſpect only the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*.

Ferdinand heard with Pleaſure that the Scheme he had laid was in a fair Way of ſucceeding, which put him more and more upon courting and commending the Actions of our young Prince.

During this Time Affairs of State was principally conducted by the Council the King firſt choſe; tho' Dean *Wolſey* was now every Day getting further into the King's Favour, and attended him where-ever he reſided; and, being at *Windſor*, with his Majeſty, he wrote to his old Patron, Biſhop *Fox*, to acquaint him how Matters paſſed at Court, which, as it will beſt ſhew his Sentiments, we ſhall here give an Extract of it.

Wolſey's Letter to Biſhop Fox.

"After my moſt humble Commen-"dations with Deſire of your Health "and perfect Recovery, may it pleaſe

" your good Lordſhip to underſtand: The Am-
" baſſador of *Spain* hath liberally dealt with my
" Lord *D'Arcy*, and given him Allowance for one
" whole Month after 6*d.* the Day, and for 15
" Days after 8*d.* the Day, for every Soldier, more
" than he could demand; and the King, *our Maſter*,
" hath for his Part given to him the Thouſand
" Pounds, which at his departing his Grace lent to
" him. Thus the King's Money goes away in
" every Kind; and as touching the King's Abode
" here, he intends not to depart hence till four or
" five Days before *All-hallow-tide*. On *Monday* next
" coming his Grace propoſes to ride to *London* to
" ſee his Ship, there to tarry two Days, and then
" return hither again. My Lord *Sha—ys* is not yet
" come to Court, but is expected in three or four
" Days. My Lord Treaſurer, *Surry*, waited on his
" Highneſs this Day Sevennight, and had ſuch Man-
" ner and Countenance ſhewed to him, that on the
" Morrow he departed Home again, and is not yet
" returned to Court. With little Help now he might
" be removed, whereof, in my poor Judgment, no
" little Good would enſue. Mr. *Howard* greatly
" incenſed the King againſt the *Scots*, by whoſe
" wanton Means his Grace ſpends much Money,
" and is more diſpoſed to War than Peace. Your
" Preſence would be very neceſſary to repreſs this
" Appetite. Other News we have none here, except
" that it is thought the Queen is with Child; when
" other Affairs occur, I ſhall let you know, hoping
" God will preſerve your good Lordſhip in Happi-
" neſs. At *Windſor* in haſte the laſt Day of *Septem-*
" *ber*, with the rude Hand of your loving and hum-
" ble Prieſt.

" As touching the Preferment of Mr. *Y—ng*, I need
" not write, for I ſuppoſe he has advertiſed your
" Lordſhip at Length in that Behalf, and alſo de-
" ſired your Counſel now that the King has ſhewed

" him

" him his Pleaſure, how far the Expedition of this " Matter ſhall be further ordered and demeaned. " Our Lord ſend you Health and Strength."

The above Extract ſhews, that ſeveral Matters were tranſacted, ſince *Henry*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, contrary to *Wolſey*'s Opinion; and that he continued carefully to pay his Court to his old Patron, and that no Diſpatches of Conſequence came into *Wolſey*'s Hands, but he laid them before the Biſhop, and adviſed with him concerning them, which certainly could not but be very acceptable to his Lordſhip, for Reaſons before-mentioned.

Soon after the King's Return from *Windſor*, *Wolſey* was preferred to the Prebend of *Bugthorp* in the Church of *York*, and, upon the Death of Dr. *Herrington*, was made Dean of that Cathedral. This laſt Preferment ſeemed highly pleaſing to Cardinal *Baynbridge*, who wrote him a congratulatory Letter thereon under this Superſcription, *To my Right entirely beloved Brother, the King's Almoner and Dean of my Church of* York.

But to proceed, as to *Spain*, the kind Treatment, the *Engliſh* met with there, remained freſh in every one's Memory, and the good Opinion the *Engliſh* had conceived of *Ferdinand*, put him upon renewing the alluring Propoſals, he had cauſed to be made to *Henry* laſt Year, of aſſiſting him in no leſs a Matter than recovering from *France* the Dominions the *Engliſh* formerly poſſeſſed in that Country, which ſo pleaſed our King, that he told the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in caſe that was done, he was ready to engage with his Maſter in ſuch Undertakings, as ſhould be further thought of, for their mutual Intereſts.

The Pope and the Venetians *make their Uſe of* Ferdinand's *Negotiations.*

As ſoon as it was known at *Rome*, how favourably our Prince received every Propoſal from old *Ferdinand*, the Pope, in order to excite the King to declare in his Favour, wrote him a Letter filled

with Complaints againſt *Lewis*, and tells his Majeſty, "That *Lewis*, neither eſteeming God, good "Fame, or Conſcience, had detained the Revenues "of the Church, and deſigned nothing leſs than to "uſurp all *Italy*; and therefore beſought the King, "in Pity to *Chriſt*,* and in Honour to his Anceſtors, "who never forſook the *Church of Chriſt* when in "Diſtreſs, to aſſiſt him againſt the Tyranny of that "Prince."

Soon after the King had received this Letter, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador became very Buſy in *England*, to conclude a League for the Purpoſes propoſed by his Maſter, which, upon the Face of it, ſeemed only to concern *England*. But,

Henry and Ferdinand ſend Ambaſſadors to the French King.

Whilſt this Treaty was carrying on, it was thought adviſeable, that ſome Pretence ſhould be found to give a Colour for concluding it; and at laſt it was agreed, both Kings ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to *France*; where being arrived they were admitted to an Audience, in which they demanded of *Lewis*, "To forbear diſtreſſing or mo-"leſting the Pope, for, if he continued ſo to do, "their Maſters would look upon themſelves obliged "to aſſiſt their Spiritual Father." The King plainly ſaw the Drift of this Embaſſy, and that, as they had already taken ſuch Meaſures, it would be too late to juſtify his Conduct in Form, therefore judged it beſt to return an haughty Anſwer; which was preciſely what the two old Foxes wiſhed for.

Upon the Receipt of this Anſwer nothing remained to obſtruct the further finiſhing of the League, which our Prince had ſo much at heart, and, on the 23d of *November*, it was concluded at *London*.

They ſign a League

In the Preamble to the Treaty they declared, "That they intended to have "turned their Arms againſt the Enemies of the "Chriſtian

* Like *Pope*, like *Spaniſh* King, for trading in *Religious Coverings*.

" Chriſtian Faith; but inaſmuch as the *French* King " had beſieged the Pope in *Bologna*, and, notwith- " ſtanding his Holineſs, through his Paternal Clemency, " had offered him the Pardon of all his Sins, provided " he would abſtain from the Patrimony of the Church; " and though the Kings of *England* and *Spain* had uſed " their Royal Interpoſition, yet *Lewis* ſtill ſlighted " their pious Deſires; therefore they had agreed to " the Articles following:

" *Firſt*, The Two Kings of *England* and *Spain* " took upon them the Defence of the holy *Roman* " Church, againſt all Perſons that ſhould attack " her.

" *Secondly*, *Ferdinand* in particular promiſed to take " Arms for her Defence in *Italy*.

" *Thirdly*, That as the Pope and Cardinals, in " order to deliver the Church from the Oppreſſion " ſhe laboured under, judged it was neceſſary not " only to carry on the War in *Italy*, but alſo in " ſuch of the Provinces of *France* as bordered upon " the Allies, it was therefore agreed, they ſhould " carry their Arms into *Guienne*, and conquer that " Province for the Crown of *England*, that *Henry*, " for aſſiſting the Church, might recover what be- " longed to him.

" *Fourthly*, That *Henry*, ſometime in *April*, 1512, " ſhould ſend 6500 Men into *Guienne*, commanded by " a good General, maintained at his own Expence, " and not to be recalled without the Conſent of " the King of *Spain*.

" *Fifthly*, That *Ferdinand* ſhould find 2000 Men " at Arms, 3000 Light-horſe, and 4000 Foot, and " provide the *Engliſh Army* with Proviſions at a mo- " derate Price.

" *Sixthly*, That each King ſhould ſend a Fleet to " Sea with 3000 good Soldiers (beſides Marines) " for ſix Months; and that neither ſhould recal his " Fleet, nor make a Peace or Truce, without the " other's Conſent."

Henry

Henry and his Council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous Treaty, ſince it was to procure them the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and *Ferdinand* demanded nothing for himſelf, but acted purely from a Motive of *Religion*, and out of *Affection* for his Son-in-law; tho' in reality he conſulted his own Intereſt, and made *Henry* only a Dupe to his demure Father and Ally.

Rapin's *Remarks*. *Rapin* remarks, on concluding the Treaties at *Rome* and in *England*, "That the latter was the Conſequence of the firſt, "on the Suppoſition that the depriving of the "King of *France* of that Province, was a good "Means to preſerve and protect the Church of God, "the principal Aim of the Allies. If ever God's "holy Name was openly and ſhamefully taken in "vain, it is in the Preamble of theſe two Treaties. "In the firſt, the Pope proteſted, that his ſole Aim, "in deſiring *Bologna* and the other States that be-"longed to the Church, was to reſtore *Italy* to her "former Tranquillity, that all *Chriſtians* might join "their Forces againſt the *Infidels*, as he ever wiſhed, "and ſtill did wiſh, with all his Heart." But, to return to his Majeſty.

Univerſity *of* Oxford *Rights reſtored*. He followed the Example of his noble Anceſtors; for, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Throne, at the Requeſt of Archbiſhop *Warham*, Chancellor; Sir *Thomas More*, High Steward; and Mr. *Wolſey*, his Almoner, he not only confirmed all its Charters of Privileges, but increaſed the ſame; among which, he confirmed that of *Edward* the IVth, by Diploma truly Royal, and exceeding all the Grants of his Progenitors, which was ſoon after loſt, and not recovered for ſeveral Years.

This Year the Scholars were very ill treated by the Townſmen, through their attempting to deſtroy ſome of the moſt antient and known Rights of the Univerſity,

verſity, whereof the Scholars firſt complained to their Chancellor; adding, that their Treaſury was ſo exhauſted, that they had not Money to purchaſe a Renewal of their Privileges, wherefore they prayed his Aſſiſtance; likewiſe ſollicited Mr. *Wolſey* and ſeveral other Gentlemen on the ſame Head, who were prevailed on to interpoſe on the Behalf of the Univerſity, whereby they obtained what they requeſted, and the Univerſity was reſtored to its former Tranquillity.

Church Zeal.

Whilſt his Majeſty was beſtowing his Favours on the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Warham* was proceeding with his *wholeſome* Severity againſt ſeveral Perſons for holding Heretical Tenets, ſo called, among whom, as the Reverend Mr. *Collier* relates, *Chriſtopher Grebel*, and others, abjured the Articles in theſe Words following: "In the Name of "God, Amen, before you, the Reverend Father in "God, my Lord *William*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "I *Chriſtopher Grebel*, Layman, of the Dioceſe of "*Canterbury*, of my pure Heart and free Will, con"feſs, that I, in Times paſt, have believed, ſaid, "affirmed, holden, and taught of the Sacraments of "the Church, and other Articles of Faith, otherways "than the *holy* Church of *Rome*, and *univerſal* Church "of God, teacheth, *&c.* And eſpecially, amongſt "others, theſe Errors and Hereſies following; that is "to ſay, that, in the Sacrament of the Altar is not "the Body of Chriſt, but material Bread: That the "Sacrament of Baptiſm and Confirmation is not ne"ceſſary, nor profitable for Man's Soul: That Pil"grimage to holy and devout Places is not profita"ble, nor meritorious for Man's Soul: That Images "of Saints were not to be worſhipped: That a Man "ſhould pray to no Saint, but only to God: And "that holy Water and holy Bread are not better, af"ter the Benediction made by the Prieſt, than they "were before."

Grebel

Grebel and his Companions were alſo, for theſe Offences, enjoined this Penance, to go barefoot, and offer a Taper at the high Altar, and there make an Offering when Maſs was ſaid. But *Stephen Caſtiline*, who was eſteemed a chief Encourager of the People's embracing theſe Opinions, was enjoined this particular Penance: To carry a Faggot before the Proceſſion, on the next Lord's Day, into the Church of *Tenderden*; to be confined to a ſort of perpetual Impriſonment in the Monaſtery of *Leeds* in *Kent*, there to feed on *Pane doloris*, and *Aqua anguſtia*; and, in caſe he took the Liberty of going farther than a Mile from that Place, was to be treated as a Perſon relapſed.

Affairs of Ireland.

Nothing happened remarkable in *Ireland* this Year, reſpecting the Government; but there were ſo great Floods and Inundations, that Trees, Houſes, and Bridges, were overturned in ſeveral Places: *Catrii O Connor*, Prince of *Oſſaly*, was murdered by his own Followers, near the Abbey called *Monaſterpheoris* in King's County; with which unhappy Tragedy we ſhall conclude the Year 1511.

Affairs of England. 1512.

THIS Year opened with holding ſeveral Councils, in relation to aſſiſting the Pope, and carrying on the deſigned War againſt *France*, in which ſeveral ſpoke to the following Purport.

" That a fairer Opportunity never offered itſelf, " whether the King deſigned to maintain the Authority " of the Pope, or to recover his own Right in *France*; " that either of theſe was a juſt Conſideration, but both " together added ſtill greater Weight; and theſe De- " ſigns would not only have the Aſſiſtance and Bleſ- " ſing of his Holineſs, but of his Father-in-law: Beſides " which, it was probable the Emperor might join here- " in; however, he and *Lewis* the XIIth had concurred

" in

" in their Deſigns: That it was not unlikely the " King's Subjects in *France* retained ſtill a due Me- " mory not only of their Allegiance, but of the Be- " nefits received from the Crown of *England*: That " there never wanted in that Kingdom diſcontented " Perſons who would join with his Forces: That the " King's Coffers never were ſo full in any King's " Time, and to which he could not doubt, but a " large Supply would be given by Parliament, who " never failed in their Contributions, when there was " a juſt Occaſion. The Difficulties his Majeſty " could find in the Enterprize were inconſiderable, " *Lewis* the XIIth being not only deeply engaged in " a War in *Italy*, but had loſt his beſt Men there; ſo " that, before he could give Orders for his Affairs at " home, he might be very much put to it; and, when " he ſhould leave his Purſuit in *Italy*, to look to his " own Country, that would yet free the Pope from " the Danger he was in, and conſequently give " his Majeſty the Honour of performing his In- " tentions."

But others argued againſt the War to the following Effect:

" Suppoſe it be granted, that as many Battles as " we have fought againſt the *French* have been al- " moſt ſo many Victories, what was this Kingdom e- " ver the better for them? Who can ſay he made a " Fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious " Time (in reſpect to Victory) than that of *Edward* " the IIId, and was ever the Country more weary " of War? If you will not believe our Hiſtories, " look into our Records, and you will find not only " that the Treaſure of our Kingdom was much ex- " hauſted, but even the People themſelves tired with the " Conqueſts on the Continent. Let us therefore, in " God's Name, leave off our Attempts againſt *Terra* " *firma*; the natural Situation of Iſlands ſeems not " to ſort with Conqueſts of that Kind. *England* is

" a juſt Empire.* If we want to enlarge our Domi-
" nions, let it be where it ſeems more agreeable to us.
" The *Indies*, both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, are diſcovered,
" and vaſt Treaſure brought from thence every Day;
" let us therefore bend our Endeavours thither, and,
" if *Spain* and *Portugal* ſuffer us not to join with
" them, there is yet Room enough for us to enjoy.
" If we want to exerciſe Piety, let us practiſe on the
" *Infidels*, by endeavouring to convert them to the
" *Chriſtian* Religion, which is a much better Province
" than eſtabliſhing a doubtful Head of the Church,
" the Council of *Piſa* having determined to depoſe
" him."

But our young King, with whom Zeal to do the Pope Service, and Ambition to recover what his Predeceſſors enjoyed in *France*, greatly prevailed, approved of the Opinion of the firſt Speakers, urging, *Firſt*, There were hopes of getting the Emperor over to the King's Intereſt. *Secondly*, That the Pope had promiſed to take away the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian* from the *French* Crown, and to confer it on the *Engliſh*, which would be a perpetual Glory to the Nation; and this their own Hiſtorians confirm.

War declared againſt France.

At the breaking up of the Council, it was reſolved to call a Parliament, and to ſend *John Young*, Doctor of Laws, to *France*, to make two Demands of *Lewis*: *Firſt*, That he ſhould deſiſt from the War againſt the Pope. *Second*, To deliver up his Maſter's Inheritance of *Anjou*, *Guienne*, *&c.* But *Lewis* abſolutely refuſed to comply with either; whereupon War was declared againſt *France*.

The Proceedings of the ſecond Parliament.

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament met, and the King delivered himſelf to the following Purport: " That " he thought it for the Good of his Sub-
" jects

* If *England* was ſo then, the Addition of *Ireland* and *Scotland* muſt make it much more ſo now.

" jects to make War with *France*, declaring, that his " chief Views were to recover his Inheritance in " *France*, to free the Pope from the Oppreſſion of " the *French* King, and to cauſe the ſchiſmatical Coun- " cil of *Piſa* to be diſſolved."

Next, Chancellor *Warham* made a long Speech, ſetting forth the Reaſon that induced the King to call his High Court of Parliament, enlarged on the King's Virtues, ſhewed that Juſtice had been ſet aſide, and Peace turned into War, through the irregular Proceedings of the *French* King; concluding with this Obſervation, that as Juſtice could not be had by fair Means, Neceſſity obliged us to ſeek it by Force of Arms.

The Parliament, agreeable to his Majeſty's Speech, approved of the intended War; and, to enable the King to carry it on with Vigour, the Commons granted the King two Fifteenths, and the Clergy likewiſe allowed him two Tenths. The Parliament alſo paſſed theſe ſix Acts,* and then broke up.

But, before the breaking up of this Parliament, ſo much of the Attainder of *Edmund Dudley*, before-

 mentioned,

* I. To lay a Penalty upon any Captain that had not his Company compleat, or not paid his Soldiers; and to make it Felony, without Benefit of Clergy, for a Soldier to deſert.

II. To reſtrain the Tranſporting of Woollen Cloth before it be Fulled, Rowed, Shorne, *&c.* but Cloth called Veſſes, Raies, Sailing Cloths, and other Cloths ſold for four Marks, or under, are excepted.

III. To appoint an Aſſeſſor of the Prices of Victuals in Cities and Boroughs, (except *London*, *York*, and *Coventry*) where the chief Officer is a Victualler.

IV. To prevent ignorant Perſons practiſing Phyſick, and Surgery, and appointing proper Perſons to examine them before licenſed; and, if any proceed contrary to this Act, to forfeit five Pounds.

V. To empower Juſtices to prevent Abuſes of Sheriffs returning Perſons not proper to ſerve on Juries, and to empower them to inſpect and reform the Panels, if needful.

VI. To empower the Maſter and Wardens of the *Tallow-Chandler's* Company, to ſearch for, and puniſh ſuch Perſons, as ſell mixed Oil.

mentioned, was reverſed, as to enable his Son, *John Dudley*, * to enjoy the Dignity of his Family; and it was obſerved, that the King from that time ſhewed a great Reſpect for this Gentleman, and, towards the End of his Reign, conſtituted him Lord Admiral of *England*.

About this Time a Diſcovery was made, that the Negotiations, that had been ſo ſecretly carried on, between our Prince and the Pope, were communicated

* He far exceeded his Father, for he roſe to be Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son, *Gilbert*, by an Intermarriage with the Lady *Jane Gray*, upon the Death of *Edward* the VIth, bid fair for the Crown, though it proved fatal, for the Father, the Son, and the young Lady loſt their Heads. Yet *Robert*, the Duke's other Son, found Favour; for, in the firſt of Queen *Mary*, he was reſtored in Blood, and ſoon made Maſter of the *Engliſh* Ordnance at the Siege of *St. Quintins*. In the firſt Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, he was made Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter; in the third Year, Conſtable of *Windſor* Caſtle; in the ſixth Year, the Queen recommended him for a Huſband to *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, and then ſhe advanced him to the Titles of Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earl of *Leiceſter*; in her eighth Year, he was honoured with the Trophies of a Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, by *Charles* the IXth of *France*, and choſen one of the Privy Council, and Captain General of the *Engliſh* Forces in the *Low-Countries*; and in the Year 1588, upon the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, advanced to be General of the *Engliſh* Forces againſt the *Spaniards*: Nor did he, even in the Declenſion of Life, drop the hopes of new Honours and Advancements, by the Acceſſion of the high Character, of acting as the Queen's Lieutenant in the Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which Letters Patent were actually drawn; but the Lord Chancellor, *Hatton*, and the Lord Treaſurer, *Burleigh*, put a ſtop to it, and the Queen ſaw in time the great Danger of truſting ſo large a Share of her own Prerogative in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon; and ſoon after he fell into Diſgrace, and died at *Carnbury* Park, in *Oxfordſhire*, *Sept.* the 4th, 1588, and was buried at *Warwick*, where he has a noble Monument.

It may be further noted, that the Grandfather loſt his Head, *Auguſt* the 17th, 1510, on *Tower-hill*; the Father met with the like Stroke, on the ſame Spot of Ground, *Auguſt* the 17th, 1553; and tho' the Son died in his Bed, he was in Diſgrace, and it was ſtrongly ſuſpected he poiſoned himſelf.

ted to the *French* King, by one *Buonviſo*, a Bankrupt *Italian* Merchant, who reſided in *London*, and was lately appointed his Holineſs's Agent here: This Man was of infinite Service to the *French*, by the early Intelligence he gave them of what was tranſacting in *England*.

Affairs of Scotland. 1512.

In our laſt Year's Account we ſpoke of a Miſunderſtanding between *England* and *Scotland*, but as the King was reſolved to proceed in the War againſt *France*, he was reſolved to try once more, whether he could not prevail on *James* the IVth to ſtand neuter, and ſent *Thomas* Lord *D'Arcy* and Dr. *Nicholas Weſt*, Dean of *Windſor*, into *Scotland*, to offer him Satisfaction for all the Grievances, he could juſtly pretend his Subjects had met with from the *Engliſh*. When theſe Ambaſſadors arrived, they found the King was making great Preparations for War, and that Courier after Courier was paſſing between *Scotland* and *France*; they, however, in the Audience granted them, repreſented, 'That their Maſter was ſomething jealous 'of the Armament that he was making, ſeeing, if 'any Differences were ſubſiſting between his Majeſty's 'and their Maſter's Subjects, the King was rea-'dy and well-diſpoſed to make them all the Sa-'tisfaction they could reaſonably aſk.' To which *James* anſwered, 'That, as there was an Appearance 'of a War between *England* and *France*, and as he 'was an Ally of both Crowns, he thought proper 'to arm his Subjects, to be ready in caſe of need, he 'not being diſpoſed to aſſiſt either Party, but to ob-'ſerve in their Quarrel an exact Neutrality:' Which the Ambaſſadors prayed they might have in Writing, but it was refuſed.

Theſe Ambaſſadors found, in their Conference with the *Scotch* Miniſters, touching the Differences between *England* and *Scotland*, that *James* was in the *French* Intereſt; and one of them plainly told the

Engliſh

Engliſh Ambaſſadors, 'That, as the *Engliſh* were 'greatly encreaſed in Power, and had often ſhewed 'their Intention of Conquering or Uniting *Scotland* 'with *England*, their Maſter looked upon it as his 'inſeparable Intereſt to prevent it, by ſupport-'ing the *French* whenever they were in Diſtreſs; 'that they might, in their Turn, aſſiſt the *Scotch*, 'ſhould the *Engliſh* attempt any thing to their Pre-'judice.' In Anſwer to this our Ambaſſadors endeavoured to ſhew, 'That an Alliance with *England* 'was much more natural than with *France*, and the 'more ſo as the Royal Families of *England* and '*Scotland* were ſo nearly united by Matrimony.' But all Reaſons proved ineffectual, and at laſt the Ambaſſadors diſcovered, that *James* had actually, on the 22d of *May*, this Year, concluded a Treaty with *France*, to ſupport that Crown againſt *England*; and ſoon after *Henry* got a Copy of the League, which fully convinced him, that Treating with *James* was now out of the Queſtion, and therefore recalled his Miniſters, and took care to provide for the worſt Events, by ſending the Earl of *Surry* into the *North*, who, as ſoon as he arrived, immediately fell to raiſing an Army, and putting the Frontiers in the beſt Poſture of Defence.

During theſe Tranſactions Cardinal *Baynbridge*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*, was not deficient, in laying before *Julius*, purſuant to his Inſtructions, what he expected from *Scotland*. His Holineſs thereupon directed a Monitory Brief to *James*, injoining him at this Juncture to forbear making War on *England*, under Pain of Excommunication. King *James* was highly diſguſted, when he received Notice of this Brief, and directed the Biſhop of *Murray* to uſe his beſt Endeavours to get it revoked; and, in caſe he could not, he ordered the Biſhop to declare to the Pope, that the King, his Maſter, would

would withdraw his Obedience; and that, if he was diſpoſed to make War upon *England*, this proceeding of the Court of *Rome* ſhould not deter him from it. In ſhort, whatever the Biſhop could do, his Holineſs would not revoke the Brief.

Our Ambaſſadors were no ſooner returned from *Scotland*, than King *James* ſhewed a particular Inſtance of his Affection for *France*, in ſuffering Ships to be built in *Scotland* for the Uſe of the *French*, and this very Year a Fleet ſailed from *Scotland*, under the Command of *James* Lord *Hamilton*,* to *France*, which was ſo acceptable to *Lewis* the XIIth, that he made this Lord *Knight of the Ship*, † and granted him a large Penſion.

Affairs of England. 1512.

Though War with *France* was declared, it was demurred what Part ſhould firſt be attacked; but, becauſe King *Ferdinand* had promiſed to join us in this *(Holy)* War, it was reſolved, that a Body of Forces ſhould land in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, and there join the *Spaniards*, and as ſoon as both Armies united they were to invade *Guienne*. The *Engliſh* Forces named for this grand Expedition were 10,000 Veterans, half of which were Archers, and the King was pleaſed to appoint the Marquis of *Dorſet* (eldeſt Son of *Wolſey*'s firſt Patron)

* From this Nobleman. *James*, Duke of *Hamilton*, and *Brandon*; *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Abercorn*; *Thomas Hamilton*, Earl of *Haddington*; *Anne Hamilton*, Counteſs of *Orkney*; *John Hamilton*, Lord *Belhaven*; *Guſtavus Hamilton*, Viſcount *Boyne*; and *James Hamilton*, Lord Viſcount *Limbrick*, are all deſcended. The preſent noble Duke was Son of the late Duke *Hamilton*, who was unfortunately killed, in a Duel with the late *Charles* Lord *Mohun*, on the 13th of *November*, 1713. As his Grace, was univerſally beloved and eſteemed in *Scotland*, the News of his Death cauſed inexpreſſible Grief to Perſons of all Ranks. He had many Virtues, was an obliging and conſtant Friend, and affable to all he converſed with.

† An Order of Knighthood inſtituted by *St. Lewis*, to encourage the Nobility of *France* to proceed by Sea with him to *Africa*, in order to make War on the *Infidels*.

tron) to be their Commander in Chief; who, as then reported, obtained this Command partly through *Wolſey*'s Means, and expreſſed himſelf in this grateful Manner to the Marquis: "That he thought "himſelf happy if he had rendred him any Ser-"vice, and ſhould think it the greateſt Comfort of "his Life, to have a further Opportunity of ſhewing "his Gratitude to any of the Sons of that noble Peer, "who had given him his firſt Preferment in the "Church."

The Marquis's fine Attitude of Body, Gracefulneſs of Mein, and ſweet Diſpoſition of Mind ſeemed conjoined by Nature to render him a Companion for Princes; was the happy Man that never diſpenſed with his Knowledge and celebrated Virtues, for the then faſhionable Vices; and ever had the Eſteem of the Court, the Love of his Soldiers, and the Reſpect of all that knew him.

The Time being come for the Troops under the Marquis's Command to embark for *Spain*, (which they did under Convoy of Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord High-Admiral) the General was accompanied by his three Brothers, *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard*, (all educated under *Wolſey*) by the Lords *Willoughby de Broke*, *Ferrers*, and *Burford*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, and many other Gentlemen; and he with his Forces ſafely arrived at a Port in *Guipoſcoa* on the 8th of *June*.

The Marquis of *Dorſet* was no ſooner arrived there, but he found a Courier of the King of *Spain* waiting to receive him, who paid him great Reſpect, and told him the Duke *de Alva* was taking the Field, in order to join him, which was very pleaſing to the *Engliſh*, after ſo tedious a Voyage. It is true, the Duke immediately put himſelf at the Head of the *Spaniſh* Army, but, inſtead of joining the *Engliſh*, who were encamped near *Fontarabia*, with Deſign to beſiege the City of *Bayonne*, as had been reſolved on, he

he kept at *Logrogno*, on the Borders of *Navarre*, and intimated to the *Engliſh* General, that, the King of *Navarre* being in Alliance with *France*, it would be very dangerous to attack *Bayonne*, as that Kingdom was at their Backs; and therefore he thought it neceſſary, before they engaged in any Siege, to try to gain the King of *Navarre* to the Intereſt of their Maſters.

Theſe Reaſons were ſo plauſible, that the Marquis was eaſily perſuaded to ſend an *Engliſh* Officer to the King of *Navarre*, to require him to join with the Allies; *Ferdinand* ſummoned him likewiſe, but more haughtily, to forſake the King of *France*, and come into the League, or deliver four of his Towns for their Security, both which that Prince refuſed.

During theſe Tranſactions a *French* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, approached the Frontiers of *Bearne*; whereupon the Marquis complained to *Ferdinand*, that the Time loſt in ſolliciting the King of *Navarre* had given the *French* the Opportunity of coming to defend their Borders, and withal preſſed him to declare, whether he would attack *Guienne*, purſuant to the Treaty of *London*, or not. *Ferdinand* anſwered, 'Prudence would not 'ſuffer him to ſend his Army to *Fontarabia* to be-'ſiege *Bayonne*, and leave his Dominions expoſed to 'the Invaſions of the *French* and *Navarrois*: That it 'was much more convenient to paſs thro' *Navarre*, 'and ſecure three or four Places, in order to hinder 'the Enemy from making Uſe of that Kingdom 'againſt him: That therefore he wiſhed the *Engliſh* 'would join the Duke of *Alva*, and his Army ſhould 'make the Vanguard and be expoſed to the firſt 'Danger, hinting, that the Siege of *Bayonne* would 'not thereby be retarded, becauſe, without all 'Queſtion, the King of *Navarre* would be glad to 'be ſomething preſſed, in order to juſtify himſelf

'to the King of *France*, when he ſhould enter into 'the League.'

The Marquis, who did not yet ſee into *Ferdinand*'s Deſigns, having held a Council of War, replied, 'That by his Inſtructions he could under-'take nothing againſt the King of *Navarre*; and, 'if the Duke of *Alva* would paſs through that King-'dom, he might; but for his Part, being already 'near *Bayonne*, he could not think of taking ſo great 'a Compaſs to join him.'

The Duke of Alva *beſieges* Pampeluna.

In the mean time the Duke of *Alva* beſieged *Pampeluna*, the Metropolis of *Navarre*, which ſurrendered on Capitulation the 25th of *July*, and the King of *Navarre* retired into *France*, whilſt the Duke of *Alva* continued his Conqueſts; and the *Engliſh* Troops, without ſtirring from their Camp, ſerved as a *Countenance** to his Deſigns; and indeed, though the *French*, who daily received freſh Supplies, ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand the Duke of *Alva*, they dared not enter *Navarre*, for fear of falling between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*; therefore, the *Engliſh* remaining quietly encamped,† between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, the Duke of *Alva* ſubdued almoſt all *Navarre*.

Then it was that the Marquis of *Dorſet* plainly perceived, that *Ferdinand* acted with Inſincerity, and that his Deſign, from the very firſt, was not to invade *Guienne*, but to conquer *Navarre*; *Ferdinand* was as ſenſible his Artifice would not laſt long undiſcovered, ſo, to prevent the Complaints the *Engliſh* General might make to his Sovereign, he ſends an Expreſs to *England*, to give *Henry* an Account of the Affairs of that Country, and to deſire him to order his General to act in Concert with him. The King, who

* We wiſh our Forces, now in *Flanders*, may be ſomething more than a *Countenance*.

† We have lately had many *quiet Encampments*.

who had received nothing to the contrary from the Marquis, readily ſent *Windſor* Herald with the deſired Orders to the General.

Whilſt the Herald was on his Journey the Duke of *Alva* became Maſter of *St. Juan de pie del Puerto*, and, preſently after the Taking that Place, *Ferdinand* acquainted the Marquis, that his Army was ready to march into *Guienne*, and deſired him to join the Duke of *Alva* without delay, which he refuſed, being no longer to be deceived, well knowing, that the *French* Army was intrenched between *Bayonne* and *Salvatierra*, with the River *Biadoſſoa* in front, which he muſt have paſſed in View of the *French* Army, and that *Bayonne* was ſo well provided, there was no likelihood of beſieging it.

However, *Ferdinand* made this Advantage of the Marquis's Refuſal, he caſt the whole Blame upon him of their not invading *Guienne*, according to the Treaty; and his General continued his Exploits, laid Siege to *Eſtella*, the only Place remaining to the King of *Navarre*, and took it.

The Marquis, full of Indignation at theſe Proceedings, and vexed at his Army's daily weakning by Sickneſs and want of Proviſions, deſired *Ferdinand* to furniſh him with Ships for their return to *England*, which with great Difficulty he obtained.

The Engliſh *Forces return Home.*

As the Army was going to embark, Orders came for its Stay, with a Promiſe of a new Supply under my Lord *Herbert*; theſe Orders were communicated to the Army, which were ſo diſagreeably received, that they threatned, in caſe they were not permitted to return home, to maſſacre their Officers; ſo that the General, finding the Diſpoſition of his Army to be deſperate, in order to prevent the fatal Conſequences that might enſue, in caſe of a Mutiny, embarked with his Men, and ſailed for *England*, where they in a ſhort time arrived.

Henry at firſt was angry with the Marquis, for not obeying his Orders; but, when the Caſe came to be repreſented in a true Light, he ſoon changed his Mind, and highly commended the Marquis of *Dorſet*'s Conduct, in quitting a Country, in which he had met with ſo much Treachery and ill Treatment. The Effect of this Expedition opened *Henry*'s Eyes, and he fully ſaw his Father-in-law had deceived him; yet, for fear of giving *Ferdinand* a Pretence to join with *France*, and thereby leave him in Straits, thought proper to diſſemble his real Sentiments, and pretend ſtill to place the higheſt Confidence in him.

The Spaniards *conquer all* Navarre.

Before the Year was expired, *Ferdinand* found himſelf in full Poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, tho' the King of *France* had uſed ſome Endeavours to wreſt the Conqueſt out of his Hands, by ſending ſome Forces to the King of *Navarre*'s Aſſiſtance; but miſcarrying in his Attempt againſt *Pampeluna*, the unhappy King was forced to abandon the reſt of his Kingdom as a Prey to the *Spaniards*, who had no other Pretence for keeping it, than the late Bull from Pope *Julius*, with whom *Ferdinand* was now the greateſt Favourite.

The Engliſh *Fleet make a Deſcent in* France.

Whilſt *Ferdinand* was thus deceiving his Son-in-law by Land, Admiral *Howard* ſailed to *Brittany* with twenty Men of War, where he took, burnt, and plundered ſeveral Towns and Villages, and laid waſte and foraged beſt part of the Country; and, tho' the *French* took the Field with 10,000 Men, it no ways diſcouraged our gallant Admiral, who engaged them with 2500 Men, put them to Flight, and made a conſiderable Booty, with which his Forces returned laden to their Ships.

This Action ſo enraged the *French*, that they fitted out a Fleet of 39 Men of War, in order to ſcour their Coaſt of the *Engliſh*; upon which his Majeſty ſent

ſent another Squadron to join Sir *Edward*, which was met by the *French* Fleet, and a furious Engagement enſued, in which the *Engliſh* Vice-Admiral plied the *French* Admiral ſo cloſe, that he boarded him, but the cowardly deſperate *French* ſet fire to their Ships, which blew up both the Admirals. However, this Action ſo terrified the *French*, that they made the beſt of their Way into *Breſt* and other Ports, leaving the *Engliſh* Maſters of the Sea.

The King hereon was more and more convinced of the great Uſe of the Navy to *England*; and we find that *Wolſey*, juſt now entring into the Miniſtry, took particular care of our Bulwarks at Sea, who at this time brought into Uſe the Building of large Ships of War, one of which was named *Henry Grace de Dieu*, of the greateſt Burthen ever launched in *England*.

About this time the King's antient Palace of *Weſtminſter*, and the Chapel in the Tower of *London* were deſtroyed by Fire.

Wolſey *enters on his Miniſtry.*

Wolſey was cloſely employed in the Affairs of State, and continually tranſmitted the different Tranſactions to the Biſhop of *Winchester*, ſome of which he was very much diſpleaſed with, which may be gathered from the following Extract.

Wherein " he beſeeches his Lordſhip, not to blame " him, that he had not written to him; for, in " Faith, ſays he, I could not till this Day, without " ſending half a Relation; but, as he had learnt ſome " Particulars now, he thought proper to ſay ſomething " to his Lordſhip: And firſt as to the Affair of the " Troops abroad, his Lordſhip, he did not doubt, " had been informed by Letters from thence; how- " beit, by the Marquis's Letters to me, I perceive, that " your Lordſhip's old Saying is true, touching the " Hardſhips the *Engliſh* Men can bear Abroad; but " as they were to return home, tho' it would be a " Hindrance of the Enterprize upon *Guienne*, yet it " ſeemed

" ſeemed to be a Proof of the King of *Spain*'s Slack-
" neſs to join the *Engliſh*; and the more ſo, becauſe
" the Perſon, that the King ſent over to excuſe it,
" was full of Words, pretending the King of *Na-*
" *varre*'s being our Enemy was attended with great
" Danger: But, as Affairs were now altered, he could
" promiſe that both Armies would immediately join,
" and go upon the Attack deſigned; and that the
" King his Maſter ſwears, he will never deſiſt from
" the War, nor leave his Majeſty, till ſuch time as he
" hath obtained the Crown of *France* for him." *Wolſey*
much ſuſpected theſe Proteſtations; and he was not
out in his Suſpicion: However, he goes on, and tells
his Lordſhip, " we have received lamentable Tidings
" of the Miſchance that happened to our People at
" Sea, on *Tueſday* was Fortnight, when they met
" with twenty *French* Men of War, (the beſt pro-
" vided that any Ships ever were) and, after a
" deſperate Engagement, the *Regent* boarded the *Car-*
" *rick* of *Breſt*, wherein were four Lords, three hun-
" dred Gentlemen, eight hundred Soldiers and Sea-
" men, four hundred Croſs Bow-men, one hundred
" Gunners, two hundred Tons of Wine, one hun-
" dred Pipes, ſixty Barrels of Gunpowder, and other
" Ammunition equivalent. In this Action our Men
" acquitted themſelves ſo well, that they killed moſt
" part of the Men within the Ship; but as they were
" ſtriking, the *Carrick* was on fire, which was ſo en-
" tangled with the *Regent*, that, in leſs than three Hours,
" they were both burnt; and Sir *Thomas Knyvet*,
" who moſt valiantly acquitted himſelf on this Oc-
" caſion, was killed by a Gun-ſhot; Sir *John Carew*
" and others likewiſe loſt their Lives. My Lord,
" keep this ſecret, for no Man yet knows it here,
" ſave the King and myſelf. In ſhort, you would
" marvel to ſee how wiſely the King behaveth him-
" ſelf; I have not ſeen the like; and thus, with hea-
" vy Heart, and ſorrowful Pen, I conclude. From

" *Farnham*,

" *Farnham*, the 26th of *August*, with the rude Hand " of your assured Chaplain."

Postscript. " The Residue of the *French* Fleet, on " being chased was put to Flight, and, like Cowards, " fled into *Brest* Harbour. Sir *Edward Howard* has " vowed to God, that he never will see the King's " Face, till he has revenged the Death of that noble " and valiant Knight, Sir *Thomas Knyvet*.

By this Letter it appears, that Mr. *Wolsey* still retained the highest Respect for his old Patron, and that he was entrusted with the most secret Affairs, which soon introduced him to that wonderful Greatness, that every Thing seemed now to conspire to raise him to.

Affairs of Italy. 1512.

In *January*, the *Spaniards*, the *Venetians*, and the *holy* Troops were all joined ready for Action; the Viceroy of *Naples* was made chief General, instead of the Pope, and the famous *Peter Navarro*, who conducted the *Spanish* Troops to *Italy*, General of the Infantry. At the Request of the Pope, tho' contrary to their own Inclinations, the first Undertaking was the Siege of *Bologna*, and they made their Attack, and raised their Batteries on the side of St. *Stephen*'s Gate; at the same Instant, *Navarro* ordering a Trench to be thrown up by the Gate of *Castiglione*, to set the Miners to work, they soon made a Breach in St. *Stephen*'s Wall, and was preparing to make a general Assault.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Nemours* had drawn up his Forces at *Finall*, upon the Frontiers of the *Milanese*, and set out from thence two Hours after Night, with 11,000 Foot, and 1300 Lances, arrived at *Bologna* in the Morning, and, under Covert of the Snow, that fell thick and in great Fleaks, he entered by the Gate of St. *Felix*, without being discovered by the Enemy; and, had they immediately issued out of the Town, and fell on the Enemy, in all Probability they had entirely defeated them; but the Troops were so much fatigued by their March, that

that it was not thought prudent to put them upon Action, before they had had ſome reſt. When the Enemy learned that the Duke was got ſafe into the Town, they were greatly ſurprized, and, fearing a Viſit from him, they took the Advantage of the Night, and moved off their Artillery and Baggage, and before Day the whole Army was marched for *Imola*. In the Morning, when the Beſieged looked out for the Beſiegers, all was clear, and not a Soul of them to be ſeen; and ſo ended the Pope's firſt Project with his new Army.

Thus both the Enemies Army and *Bologna* were ſaved, after each of them to Appearance had eſcaped the greateſt Danger; and this Siege was raiſed the beginning of *February*, after the Confederate Army had ſet down nineteen Days before the Town.

The Duke of *Nemours*, the Day he ſaw himſelf rid of his Enemies before *Bologna*, received the diſagreeable News of *Breſcia*'s being ſurprized by the Proveditor, *Andrew Gritti*; but it was ſo well managed by the Inhabitants, when they ſaw the *Venetians* at hand, that the Governor, who had but a ſmall Body of Soldiers with him, was glad to eſcape the Fury of the Town's People, and ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle, from whence he ſent the Duke the Account of his Misfortune.

Bologna was near forty Miles diſtant from *Breſcia*, and the Way to it was over ſeveral Rivers, and ſome of them very difficult to paſs, yet the Duke's Soldiers ſhewed their readineſs to attend him, which he looking on as a good Preſage of the Succeſs of his Enterprize, without more to do he ſet out with his Army, leaving a ſufficient Force under the Command of *Lautrec*, (now become an Officer of conſiderable Note, and at laſt had the chief Command of an Army) the Duke marched no leſs than thirty *Italian* Miles in one Day, and, meeting with *Bagliene*, one of the *Venetian* Generals, who was carrying a large Reinforcement to their new gotten Town, the Chevalier *Bayard*, by Order of the

the Duke, fell upon him, and entirely defeated him. This News as much encouraged the Governor in the Caſtle, as it diſcouraged the Enemy, and ſhortly after the Duke of *Nemours* arrived at the Caſtle, and entered on the ſide next the Country.

He gave his Army one Day's reſt, and the next Morning he attacked the Enemy, and, after an obſtinate Defence, forced their Trenches, and, in a ſecond Engagement recovered the Town; but the Fight was ſo bloody, that, according to the *Italian* Hiſtorians, no leſs than eight thouſand *Venetians* periſhed in the ſeveral Combats, and the *French* loſt ſeveral brave Men; the Proveditor, *Andrew Gritti*, was taken Priſoner; *Bergamo*, and other Towns that had revolted to the *Venetians*, ſued for Pardon, which was granted, and they returned to their former Obedience.

The Duke of *Nemours*, having performed ſo many glorious Actions in leſs than fifteen Days, was reputed one of the moſt enterpriſing Generals of his Time; and, as the Allies ſtill kept their Army in the Field, he reſolved to go in Purſuit of them, in order to come to a deciſive Battle. He drew his Army together at *Finall*, which conſiſted of 18,000 Foot, a numerous Body of Gendarms, and ſome Light-horſe; he made ſeveral Marches, and Counter-marches, in order to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, but they carefully avoided it. At laſt he beſieged *Ravenna*, believing the Pope would not ſuffer this Place to be taken without endeavouring to ſuccour it, and he was not miſtaken in his Opinion; for his Army had no ſooner attacked the Town, than the Confederates came up to its Relief, and approached ſo near the Duke of *Nemours*'s Camp, that both Armies cannonaded each other briſkly; but *Peter Navarro* was ſtrongly intrenched, and with his Cannon deſtroyed above 2000 of the *French*, who nevertheleſs ſuſtained the Fire above three Hours; and the Duke of *Ne-*

The Battle of Ravenna.

mours Cannon alſo made great Havock among the Enemy.

The Viceroy, (nick-named by the Pope *Madam Cardone*) ſeeing the Fury of the Engagement, run away, and ſo great was his Fear, that he did not ſtop till he had got near ninety Miles from the Field of Battle. *Carvail*, who commanded the Enemy's Rear, took likewiſe to his Heels, but was followed ſo cloſely by the Chevalier *Bayard*, that he diſperſed the Enemy, and took the Marquis *de Peſcaira* Priſoner, covered over with Wounds, received in endeavouring to rally the Run-aways.

Victory now ſeemed ſecured to the Duke of *Nemours*, and nothing remained but the Intrenchments of Count *Navarro* to be forced, upon which enſued a long and bloody Engagement, he having ranged his Men in Battalia armed with Pikes, who defended themſelves with great Reſolution; but at laſt the *Spaniſh* Infantry was entirely defeated with a very great Slaughter, and the valiant *Navarro* was taken Priſoner and ſent into *France*. But what followed proved fatal to the *French*: There remained only one Regiment of the *Spaniards* that withdrew in good Order, whoſe Eſcape, intrepid *Nemours*, could not bare the Thoughts of; therefore, not giving himſelf Time to encompaſs them, marched at the Head of a few Gend-arms, in order to break through them; but the *Spaniards*, in this deſperate Caſe, faced about, and preſented their Pikes; and *Nemours*, raſhly venturing to croſs their Ranks, met with his unhappy Deſtiny by a Thruſt into his Side, accompanied with fourteen other Wounds, of which he immediately died, and gallant *Lautrec* received twenty in defending him, tho' none of them proved mortal.

The Duke of Nemours *killed.*

Thus this noble Duke was buried in his Victory, having in leſs than three Months performed ſuch great Exploits, as to entitle him to a Seat among the celebrated Heroes, by the diſtinguiſhable Name of the *Thunderbolt* of *Italy*.

We

We cannot ſum up this young Martial Prince's Character in ſo fit Language as that in the following Lines, from Mr. *Addiſon*'s *Compaigne*:

The Hero's *Breaſt ſtill ſwells with great Deſigns,*
In ev'ry Thought the tow'ring Genius *ſhines.*
If to the Foe his dreadful Courſe he bends,
O'er the wide Continent his March extends:
If Sieges *in his lab'ring Thoughts are form'd,*
Camps are aſſaulted, and an Army ſtorm'd:
If to the Fight *his active Soul is bent,*
The Fate of Empires turn on it's Event.
A thouſand glorious Actions, that might claim
Triumphant Laurels and Immortal Fame,
Confus'd in Crouds of glorious Actions lie,
And Troops of Heroes undiſtinguiſh'd die.
O NEMOURS! *how can I behold thy Fate,*
And not the Wonders of thy Youth relate!
How can I ſee the Gay, the Brave, the Young,
Fall in the Cloud of War, and lie unſung!
In Joys of Conqueſt he reſigns his Breath,
And, fill'd with laſting Glory, ſmiles in Death.

And Cardinal Medicis *taken Priſoner.*

The Battle laſted near eight Hours; the *French* and *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians differ very much as to the Number ſlain on both Sides; *Guicciardin* ſays, there periſhed 10,000, of whom two thirds were *Spaniards*. In ſhort, the Victory had been quite compleat had not the *French* loſt their General; for *Ravenna* and all the Fortreſſes of *Romagna* ſurrendered to them, and Poſſeſſion given to Cardinal *St. Severin*; (except the Citadel of *Imola* and *Forli*) the *French* alſo took ſeveral Priſoners of Note, among whom was his Holineſs's Legate, Cardinal *John de Medicis*, and ſent him to *Milan*.

La Paliſſe *made General of the* French *Army.*

Upon Duke *Nemours*'s Cataſtrophe, *la Paliſſe*, an Officer of great Experience, was prevailed on by the

other Generals, to accept the Command in Chief: And, as he was unacquainted with the King's Intentions, and had received Intimation from *Trivulca*, that the *Swiſs* were preparing to enter the *Milaneſe*, returned to *Milan* with the greateſt Part of his Forces, leaving 6000 Men, under the Command of Cardinal *St. Severin*, to ſecure the Towns in *Romagna*. On his Arrival there, as *France* was threatned with an Invaſion from *England* and *Spain*, the King ſent him Orders, to cauſe the greateſt Part of his Gendarms to repaſs the *Alps*; ſo that this General had not above 10,000 Infantry and 1300 Horſe left, at a time when the whole Force of the Kingdom would not have been too much, to ſuſtain the Shock that ſoon after followed.

The News of the Battle of *Ravenna* made very different Impreſſions in the Courts of *Europe*, particularly at *Venice* and *Rome*, who received it with the utmoſt Conſternation, looking upon themſelves to be entirely at the Mercy of the Conquerors; and the *Venetians* was at firſt for coming to any Terms with the *French*, but the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador prevented it by repreſenting, that, notwithſtanding their late Victory, the *French* were in no Condition to undertake any further Enterprize, and that his Maſter was ſending to *Italy* a freſh Supply of Troops. At *Rome* the Cardinals run to the Pope, to conjure him not to delay making Peace with *France*, which through fear he ſeemed inclinable to; but when he heard *la Paliſſe* was marched with the Army for *Milan*, he recovered his Courage, and declared he would not depart from the League, raiſed new Forces, made great Preparations for holding the General Council, which was ſoon to meet at the *Lateran*.

The Lateran Council opened.

On the 3d of *May* the *Lateran* Council was held at *Rome*, and was much more numerous than that held in *France*, and here the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Rocheſter*, with

a

a Prior and Abbot, aſſiſted on the Part of the *Engliſh* Clergy: Beſides, *Henry* was ſo zealous for the Pope, that he granted a Commiſſion, executed at *Weſtminſter* the 1ſt of *April*, 1512, to the ſaid Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield*, to conſtitute them Ambaſſadors to aſſiſt at this Council; Part of which Commiſſion runs as follows: "And there to "confer, treat, and conclude for us, and our King-"dom, and in our Name, of and concerning all "and ſingular the Articles, which may be judged "neceſſary for the Welfare of the whole Catholick "Church, and for the Reformation thereof, as well "in the Head as in the Members, *&c.*" Lord *Herbert* obſerves, that this Clauſe was only to blind the Publick, becauſe nothing could be further from the Pope's Thoughts, than to ſet this Council upon a *Reformation*, either of himſelf or the Church; but, to attend the Proceedings of the Council,

Herein the different Sentences of Excommunication were confirmed, as well againſt the Authors as Actors in the Council of *Piſa*, and the Acts of that Council reverſed.

In a Letter from Cardinal *Baynbridge* to the King, that Prelate gives his Majeſty an Account of what paſſed in the Council of *Lateran* againſt the Schiſmaticks, and of the private Converſation he had with his Holineſs, in relation to the Cardinals that had deſerted him; and he therein informs his Majeſty, "That what the Pope had done was to "make them aſhamed of their Actions; though his "Holineſs was determined to reſtore them, yet it "ſhould be done in the Method to humble them."

By the Return of the *French* to *Milan* the Pope (who juſt before was in the late King *Charles* the Iſt of *England*'s Condition, when he uſed theſe Words, *Qui jaceat Humi, non habet, unde cadet)* was ſoon become the Favourite of Fortune; for now, inſtead of ſuing for Peace with *France* he renewed his Excommu-

communication againſt *Lewis*, and again put *France* under an Interdict.

Lewis was ſo enraged at this Treatment, that he cauſed Medals to be ſtruck with the following Inſcription, *Perdam Babylonem*, which proves *Rome* was not firſt called *Babylon* by *Proteſtants*.

The Pope's Pretence, for excommunicating *Lewis* at this time was, for that he detained Cardinal *Medici*, his Legate, at *Milan*; who, tho' a Priſoner, exerciſed his Legateſhip, the Inhabitants of *Milan* refuſing to own the Authority of *Lewis*'s Council, to his no ſmall Mortification; though this was but trifling to the Misfortunes that enſued. After *la Paliſſe* had quitted *la Romagna* ſeveral of the Towns in that Country ſubmitted to the Pope; at the ſame time *Ferdinand* became Maſter of *Navarre*; and *Lewis* was forced to ſend an Army into *Bearne*, to hinder the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* from invading *Guienne*; and the Emperor concluded a Truce with *Venice*, ſecretly promiſing to withdraw from the *French* Army a Body of *German* Troops, ſent for the Defence of the *Milaneſe*; though upon the Aſſurance of this Aid it was, that *Lewis* recalled from *Milan* Part of his own Troops; where, *la Paliſſe* finding himſelf much weakned, was obliged to recal the Cardinal of *St. Severin* with his Troops, the Conſequence of which was the Loſs of all *la Romagna*.

What made the *French* Affairs ſtill worſe was, the *Swiſs* continued highly enraged againſt them, and were waiting for an Opportunity to take a Revenge for their former Affront: And the Pope in his Diſtreſs having renewed his Sollicitation to thoſe brave People for Aſſiſtance, it occaſioned among them ſeveral Meetings in Parliament, to conſider what was proper to be done. Some in this Aſſembly took Notice, that the *French* King was not contented with refuſing to encreaſe

The Swiſs *hold a Parliament.*

encreaſe their Penſions, but had uſed Words full of Reproach, by deſpiſing and rejecting them as Villains.*

It was alſo remarked, that *Lewis* had began to take the Footmen of the Lance-knights into his Pay, to ſhew the Contempt he had of their Nation, and even proceeded ſo far as to perſuade himſelf

* The *Switzers* are called, in antient Hiſtory, *Helvatians*, and inhabit the high Mountains of *Jura*, named *St. Claude*, *St. Bridget*, and *St. Gadat*; a People naturally rude, but valiant in War: Their Country is more uſed in Grazing than Tillage: They were formerly under the Subjection of the Duke of *Auſtria*, whoſe Juriſdiction they ſhook off ſome hundred Years ago, *Guicciardin* relates, "That they have "a Policy and Government of "their own Coining, without "any Dependance or Rela"tion to Emperors, Kings, or "Princes of any kind; and they "are divided into thirteen Co"monalties, which they call "*Cantons*, every one of which "is governed by Magiſtrates, "Laws, and Ordinances pecu"liar to itſelf. They hold a "*Parliament* every Year, or oft"ner, if Neceſſity requires it, "which is not always held at "one Place, but as beſt pleaſeth "the Deputy of every Canton. "When they agree to raiſe Sol"diers for any Prince, the Can"tons chuſe among themſelves "a Captain General, to whom "they give the Banner with the "Enſign, and their ſtrict Uni"ty, with the Glory of their "Arms, hath made them re"nowned throughout the whole "World. In their Perſonage "they bear a Preſence rude, "and in their Behaviour and "Converſation hold more of In"civility than Comlineſs. This "Deſire of Gain, makes them "purſue the Uſe of Arms, and "they ſerve no longer than "whilſt the Prince, or State in "whoſe Service they are, punc"tually pays them, but are "noted for their Fidelity to "thoſe who do.

"Somewhat below the *Swit*"*zers* are certain Towns and "Villages, inhabited by a Peo"ple called *Valley-men*; they "are inferior to the *Switzers* "in Number, Authority, Va"lour, and every other Diſpo"ſition: But ſtill lower than "they are another People, cal"led *Griſons*, which are divi"ded into three *Cantons*, called "the Lords of the *Three Leagues*; "their Capital Town is called "*Caire*; they often aſſociate "with the *Switzers*, and with "them go commonly to the "Wars; they have almoſt the "ſame Policy and Laws; pretty "nigh the ſame in Conſtitution, "Manners, Cuſtoms, Arms, and "Valour, and are preferred be"fore the *Valley-men*, but hold "no Compariſon with the *Switz*"*ers*, either in Number, Poli"cy, or Virtue."

ſelf, that their People would die in their Mountains of Idleneſs, and famiſh for Want of his Pay, which induced them to expreſs to all the World, how much he was deceived in his vain Thoughts, and that his Ingratitude was only hurtful to himſelf, and thereby Evidence that nothing could ſtay Men of War from ſhewing their Valour for ſuch Men, the Uſe of Gold and Silver was made for: *Laſtly*, that it was neceſſary to convince the World, how indiſcreet the *French* King was, to prefer the Lance-knights Footmen to the *Switzers*.

Theſe Obſervations had the deſired Effect upon theſe People; they one and all declared for the Cauſe of the Pope, as if it had been their own; without more ado they departed from their Houſes, with only one Florin a Man, whereas they were not uſed to march for the Service of the *French* King without Money in Hand, and Promiſes of Preſents among their Captains: And, tho' his Holineſs demanded no more than 6000, yet no leſs than 16,000 voluntarily began their March about the end of *Auguſt*. Inſtead of taking their direct Road to the *Milaneſe*, the Paſſes whereof they did not Queſtion were ſtrongly guarded, they marched to *Trent*, where *Maximilian* received them, tho' this was an Enemy's Act; but as he had not yet declared againſt *France*, he was deſirous to hide his Intentions, by telling the *French* Ambaſſador, that his Alliance with the *Switzers* ſuffered him not to deny them a Paſſage through his Dominions, as if his Treaty with *Lewis* the XIIth was to be leſs obſerved, than that with the *Switzers*.

In ſhort, he ſuffered them to paſs unmoleſted thro' *Trent*, (which ruined all *Lewis*'s Affairs in *Italy*) and they ſoon proceeded to *Verona*, where they were joined by the *Venetians*, who marched in Conjunction towards *Milan*: Whereupon the *French* (who, a little Time before, had been deſerted by the *Germans*, under Pretence of their returning home,) had not above 10,000 Men,

Men, which rendered them wholly unprovided to engage the Enemy, and had nothing to do but to put thoſe Forces into the fortified Towns, in order to waſte the Enemy's Army by Sieges, till the King ſent them Supplies, or the approaching Winter ſtopt the Progreſs of theſe deſperate Enemies; but they found that would not do, and *la Paliſſe*, deſpairing to ſave the *Milaneſe*, reſolved to repaſs the Mountains, and retire into *France*.

This Accident fell out luckily for the Cardinal *de Medici*, whom they would have carried with them: His Preſervation ſeems to be chiefly owing to the following Tumult: As they were conducting him into *France*, the Morning he entered the Bark at the Paſſage of *Pace*, certain Peaſants of the Village murmurred greatly at the Treatment the Cardinal met with, and one *Reignold de Lalle*, accompanied with ſeveral of the Cardinal's Friends, roſe in Arms, and reſcued him out of their Hands. *Guicciardin* obſerves on this Occaſion, "That they, whom many Adverſities had "made fearleſs of all Accidents, hearing the Noiſe "of a Tumult, which they were afraid to endea-"vour to ſuppreſs, were the more careful to *fly* than "to *fight*, and to loſe that Priſoner by *Cowardice*, "whom they had won in Danger of Battle." In ſhort, that may be applyed to theſe greatly intimidated *Frenchmen*, which *Horace* ſays of the vicious Man,

Poſt Equitem, ſed & atra cura.

for Fear urged on their Flight, and no Hopes of Safety could they conceive, but upon their Arrival in *France*.

After the *French* were thus fled, many Towns of the Dutchy readily ſurrendered to the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio* ſubmitted to the Pope. On the other hand, *Alexander Bentivoglio*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Bologna*,

departed from thence with all his Family, leaving the City to the Pope's Mercy: Thus *Julius* the IId, who once conceived himſelf at the Brink of Deſtruction, was arrived at the Height of his Wiſhes. By this ſurprizing Revolution *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, all *la Romagna*, were reſtored to the Church, and the *French* drove out of *Italy* without ſtriking a Stroke: Inſomuch, that the *French* had nothing left there, ſave the Caſtle of *Milan*, and Town of *Crimona*; in the firſt of which Chevalier *de Louvain* was Commander, and in the latter *James de Aerbonville* Governor, both which maintained their Poſts, and defended themſelves againſt their Enemies with great Bravery.

There remained ſtill four Things for his Holineſs to do to compleat his Happineſs; namely, to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of *Ferrara*, to reſtore the *Sforza's* to *Milan*, the *Medici* to *Florence*; and laſtly, to expel the *Germans* and *Spaniards* out of *Italy*.

Upon this extraordinary Event *Guicciardin* makes the following Remark, "Conqueſt draweth with it "Ambition, Inſolence, and Covetouſneſs; and with "Men triumphing in Victory all Things ſeem to "hold of Equity: That the *Switzers*, being Maſ-"ters of the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Piemont*, ſtudied "to make the moſt of the whole Country, by Taxes "and exceſſive Rates, being aſſured the *French* could "not poſſibly return this Year; for, tho' *Lewis* was "very uneaſy at the Loſs of the Dutchy of *Milan*, "yet Neceſſity compelled him to hearken to the "Councils of ſuch as adviſed him to defer the Thoughts "of returning thither for the preſent, and employ "his Forces to defend his own Country.

A Meeting at Mantua.

When the *French* had quitted *Italy*, the Allies met ſeveral times at *Mantua*, where they could agree but upon two Articles: *Firſt*, That *Maximilian Sforza*, eldeſt Son of *Ludovic* the *Moor*, ſhould be reſtored to *Milan*; *ſecondly*, and the Houſe of *Medici* to *Florence*: In Conſequence of the

the laſt, the Army of the Allies, approaching *Florence*, compelled the *Florentines* to conſent to a Treaty, whereby it was agreed, the *Medici* ſhould enjoy their Country again as Citizens only, not as Governors. But Cardinal *de Medici*, entering the City by Vertue of the Treaty, whilſt the Army of the Allies were at the Gates, found Means to introduce many Officers and Soldiers, and raiſed a Party that anſwered his Deſigns; for ſhortly after he got the Government ſettled upon the ſame Foot as it was before their Baniſhment, in the Reign of *Charles* the VIIIth: And, purſuant to the firſt Part of the Agreement, in the Month of *November*, *Maximilian Sforza* was put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

The Medici *reſtored to* Florence.

Maximilian Sforza *reſtored to* Milan.

It was a great Step for the Pope to have the *Medici* reſtored to *Florence*, and *Sforza* to *Milan*, but this did not content him, the Duke of *Ferrara* was ſtill Maſter of his Dutchy, and the Council of *Piſa* ſitting at *Lyons*, great Grievances to his righteous Soul! therefore, he now, as ardently as ever, laboured to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, that *Maximilian* might without Difficulty abandon both *France* and the Council of *Piſa*; to that Purpoſe the Pontiff obtained a ſecond Meeting at *Rome*, but found ſo many Difficulties, that all of a ſudden he concluded with the Emperor a League offenſive and defenſive againſt *Venice*: Whereby the latter engaged, "to become a principal "Party in the League of *Rome*, and agreed that the "Pope ſhould keep *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Reggio*, "ſaving, however, the Right of the Empire; promiſed to renounce the Council of *Piſa*, and forſake "the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *Bentivoglio*." The Pope engaged on his Part, "to aid the Emperor "with all his Power, to throw out his Cenſures againſt

The Emperor and the Pope join againſt Venice.

" the *Venetians*, and declare them excluded the " League of *Rome*."

The Emperor renounces the Council of Piſa.

Upon ſigning and ratifying this Treaty, the Biſhop of *Gurck*, as the Emperor's Lieutenant, renounced, in the next Seſſion of the Council of *Lateran*, the Aſſembly of *Piſa*, and revoked whatever had been done by his Maſter towards calling and ſupporting it.

Maximilian had as little Sincerity and Gratitude as *Ferdinand*. *Lewis* aſſiſted him to conquer ſome Places in *Italy*, after the League of *Cambray*; yet no ſooner was *Lewis* upon the Decline, but he deſerted him; nay, he even helped to hurl him down the Precipice.

This Quarrel between the Pope and the *Venetians* took up ſo much of *Julius*'s Time the latter Part of this Year, that it kept him from falling upon the Duke of *Ferrara*, as he intended, who had made the King of *Spain* his Friend, and, before the Pope could put his Deſigns againſt this Prince in Execution, he made his final Exit.

The extraordinary Changes, that happened this Year, in *Italy* and *Navarre*, are Events which will not ſoon be obliterated in Record: But what were they owing to? why chiefly to *Lewis*'s being ſuch a Devotee to his Queen's *Superſtition*, *Careſſes*, *Intrigues*, and *Importunities*, powerful Influences! * which frequently diſarmed him, and cooled his Courage, when he ſhould have moſt exerted himſelf; particularly, after the Battle of *Ravenna*, when *Julius* the IId was upon the Point of leaving *Rome*, and he had certainly abandoned it, if *Lewis* had not ſuffered himſelf to be

* Theſe are the *Charms* that, according to all Report, have equally prevailed in *Spain* for theſe ſeveral Years, (to the no ſmall *Damage* of that opulent Kingdom) which, and thoſe of the *French* Cardinal, we preſume, their Poſterity will have ſufficient Cauſe to remember; and which, perhaps, we ſhall not ſoon forget.

be inchanted by the aforeſaid *Charms*. Nothing, ſurely, is ſo capable of ſtopping an Arm, ready to lay an Enemy under Foot, or reaching to gather the Fruits of an important Victory, as the Artifice or Bigotry of a *Wife's Confeſſor*. It was ſaid indeed, once *Lewis* impoſed Silence upon his Wife, who continually importuned him about the Council of *Piſa*: *What, Madam*, ſaid he, *do you think that you are wiſer than ſo many famous Univerſities, who approved the Council of* Piſa? *Did not your Confeſſor tell you, that Women are to be ſilent in the Church?* But what could it ſignify to ſay this once to a Woman ſo tenderly beloved by her Huſband, as *Ann* of *Britanny* was? who would not be diſcouraged at three or four Refuſals; ſhe ſtill returns to the Charge, till her Demands are granted. Theſe are Birds of the Bed, or the Night, whoſe Warbling, it is much to be feared, will ſtill perſuade ſooner or later: And we have not been without ſome Inſtances of it at Home. In ſhort, this conſcientious Religious Queen would never let poor *Lewis* reſt, till ſhe carried her Point, and forced her Huſband meanly to ſubmit to whatever the Court of *Rome* required; whoſe chief Ruler made *Religion* ſubſervient to his inordinate Ambition, under the Pretence of maintaing the *Glory of God* and the *Good of the Church*.

And though *Henry* joined in the League with the Pope and *Ferdinand*, and made good his Engagements, yet, as ſoon as their Affairs began to mend, they took no more Notice of him, than if he had dwelt in the Moon; for, when they thought the King of *England* could be no longer uſeful to them, they immediately deſerted him.

Affairs of England. 1512.

Henry, though intirely ſatisfied, that his crafty Father-in-Law had deceived him, was again induced to treat with *Ferdinand*, at the Inſtigation of ſeveral Princes in Alliance againſt *France*, who ſtrongly ſollicited our Prince

Prince not to fall into *Lewis*'s Meaſures, aſſuring him, that, as they had nothing to fear in *Italy*, they would join all their Forces to invade *France*, in order to aſſiſt him in recovering *Guienne* and *Normandy*, which he ſo much deſired: Therefore his Majeſty ſent Ambaſſadors to *Bruſſels*, where he entered into a League with the Pope, the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and *Charles* of *Auſtria*, to carry on a War againſt *France* the enſuing Year; and alſo ſigned the Treaty that had been concluded at *Rome* the Year before.

A new Alliance.

The King of *England* imagined the Intention of this Treaty would have been executed forthwith, but he was miſtaken; for *Julius*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, were far from deſigning what he expected: On the contrary, they only took the Advantage of *Henry*'s Youth, by pretending to be zealous for him, in order to make him dip into *Henry* the VIIth's Hoards.

As *Henry* was ſtill big with making Conqueſts in *France* he again this Year called his Parliament, in order to get a further Supply from them.

Proceedings of the third Parliament.

On the 4th of *November* the Parliament met, and the King managed Matters ſo well with the *Commons*, that, without many Meetings and Debates among themſelves, they granted him a new Subſidy, and a Poll-tax upon all his Subjects, *viz.* * the Fifteenths and four Demys.

The

* A *Fifteenth* is the Tax of Money upon a Borough, or other Town, thro' the Kingdom, which amounts to a fifteenth Part of that which the City or Town had been valued at of old; and therefore every one knew what their Fifteenth came to. Whereas a *Subſidy* was raiſed upon every Man's Goods, or Lands, which made it uncertain how much the Subſidy would amount to, becauſe every Man's Eſtate is uncertain; for which they made the following Regulation, *viz.* Every Duke was to pay ten Marks, an Earl five, a Lord four, a Knight four; every Man, whoſe Effects were valued at 800 l. was allotted to pay four; and ſo down to a Servant, who, having 40 *s.* a Year, was to pay 12 *d.* and every one above 15 *s.* a Year, 4 *d.*

The Pope, to encourage *Henry* to invade *France*, ſent over, while the Parliament was Sitting, a *Plenary Indulgence* to all *Henry*'s Subjects, who ſhould aid him with their Perſons or Purſes therein.

After the King had obtained what he deſired from his Parliament, and they had paſſed the under-written Acts,* they broke up: And his Majeſty, having renewed his Alliance with his good Father-in-law, heartily ſet to making freſh Preparations of War.

As *Wolſey* was now become greatly in Favour with the King, he was intruſted by his Majeſty to aſſiſt in thoſe Preparations, by which we ſhall preſently ſee *Wolſey* gained ſtill more Reputation, who, as well in this Truſt as in all others neglected nothing that he thought capable of increaſing the King's good Opinion of him, and his indefatigable Application ſo evidently appeared to his Majeſty, that he was highly pleaſed with it, and the more ſo, becauſe he ſaw in his Court and Council a Churchman leſs rigid and ſcrupulous than ſome of his old Counſellors had been: This, joined with his other Talents for Buſineſs, and his extenſive Knowledge in Divinity, was the Means of his getting the Advantage over all the other Courtiers; on which Monſieur *Rapin* breaks out as follows:

" When

* I. To take away the Benefit of the Clergy from all ſuch as commit Murder, or Felony, in any Church, or Chapel, or hallowed Place, or in the King's High-way; or rob or murder any Perſon in his Houſe, the Owner of the Houſe, his Wife, Child, or Servant, then being therein, and put in Fear or Dread by the ſame.

II. To provide a Remedy for the Recovery of Iſſues forfeited by Juries in *London*.

III. That no Fee ſhall be taken for Sealing Cloth of Gold, Silver, Velvet, &c. nor ſhall the Merchant be delayed, under the Penalty of 40 *s.*

IV. A further Act to enforce the 19th of *Henry* the VIIth, as to the Goodneſs of Pewter and Braſs, and directing not only in what Places it ſhall be ſold or changed, but the Maker to put his Mark to them, with a Penalty if he uſes falſe Beams or Weights, and empowering the Maſter and Wardens of the *Pewterer's* Company and others, to appoint Searchers for the Purpoſes in the Act mentioned.

Rapin's Remarks on Wolsey's Conduct.

" When he saw himself well fixed, " he made it his particular Business " to shew the King his Errors since " his Accession to the Throne, and how his Youth " had been abused; by this Method he insinuated " to him by degrees, that he was ill served, and " wanted an able Minister, capable of easing him " in the Administration of the most weighty Af- " fairs, and of shewing him the Consequences. In " a Word, he so managed, that he became himself " the Minister which he advised the King to seek, " and by degrees was intrusted with the Care and " Conduct of the King's principal Affairs: his Cre- " dit rendered him *haughty*, *proud*, *insolent*, and " *ungrateful* to his old Friends: In short, he was " taxed with *all the Failings* of this Nature which " Favourites are usually charged with, and which in- " deed few Favourites can avoid. *Wolsey*, like most " others, grew extremely *odious*, chiefly because his " Counsels were *self-interested*, which the Event dis- " covered to all but the King, who was blind in " that Respect; his Favour and *Credit* caused the " most potent Princes of *Europe* to *strive to gain* " him to their Interests, and *glory'd*, at least outwardly, " in being of the Number of *his Friends*. The Rea- " son is, because, during this Reign, the Affairs of " *Europe* were in such a Situation, that *England* was " capable of making the *Ballance* to *incline* to the " Side she espoused. *Wolsey* knew how to improve " this Advantage, to render himself the richest and " most powerful Subject that ever was; but labour- " ed not with the same Ardour for his *Master's Ho-* " *nour*, as for his own Interest. After he was declared " Prime Minister he managed during the Space of " 17 Years all the King's Affairs both Foreign and " Domestick."

Monsieur *Rapin* has not yet given us one Proof in support of the hard Part of this Character, which

is

is abſolutely contradictory to the other. The Reader muſt not therefore be ſurprized to find all his other Reflections on this Miniſter worked up in the ſame Manner; which, however, we ſhall take the Liberty to examine, as we proceed in our Hiſtory.

Lord Herbert's *Obſervations.*

Lord *Herbert* obſerves, "That, the "King being young and much given "to his Pleaſure, ſome adviſed him to "have Recourſe to his Council for Inſtructions, how "to govern his Kingdom; but *Wolſey* told the King, "that he ſhould ſometimes follow his Studies, and "ſometimes take his Pleaſure, and that it was wrong "to meddle with old Men's Cares before it was pro-"per ſo to do, ſeeing there was not wanting a Perſon "to recite to his Majeſty the Effect of a whole Day's "Conſultation in Council; which Advice ſo pleaſed "the King, that *Wolſey* ſoon attained the Height of "Favour; for as Princes have Arts to govern King-"doms, Courtiers have thoſe by which they govern "their Sovereigns, eſpecially, when through any In-"diſpoſition they grow unapt for governing them-"ſelves."

Lord *Herbert* mentions a Speech *Wolſey* made to the King, relating to his employing a Prime Miniſter, which the Reader will pleaſe to take in his Lordſhip's Words.

Wolſey's Speech to the King.

"Sir, Your Highneſs hath now ſuf-"ficient Experience of ſtrange Effects "which Contradictions of Councils "bring forth. It is unſafe to believe ſingly either "of thoſe on whoſe Advice your Highneſs moſt "relies, and impoſſible to believe both; may "your Highneſs therefore chuſe ſome one, who, "being diſintereſted, may have no Paſſion or Thought "but to ſerve your Highneſs. All thoſe Reaſons of "State, which conclude Monarchy to be the beſt "Form of Government, make for a Favourite in "the next Place; inſomuch that of *ſupreme* Autho-"rity

" rity, as of thoſe pyramidal Heights, on which the " Statues of Princes were antiently placed, I dare ſay, " there can be none well raiſed, that, from the loweſt " Foundation, is not ſhapened by degrees into its " Point: But, leſt this ſhould be thought looking up- " wards only, be pleaſed a while to look down, and " conſider Things the other Way, and Proſpective will " hold its Proportion; for how, Sir, ſhould a King " preſerve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at " once on divers inferior Perſons? Believe me, Sir, " to diffuſe it over ſuddenly, is to take away not on- " ly from the Dignity, but even Entireneſs of it, it " being with Authority as with a Spring or Foun- " tain, which, that it may keep its Courſe and Name, " muſt be cheriſhed and entertained, till it grow " great by the Contributions and Concurrences of " thoſe leſſer Heads that run into it. Kings muſt ne- " ver deſcend but by Steps: The more Orders are un- " der the higher ſtill they ſtand; neither will your " other Council think themſelves much leſſened this " Way; for, when they may uſe the ordinary Sway " allowed them over their Inferiors, they will not " think themſelves much concerned for the reſt. Be- " ſides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing " which way to addreſs their Suits; to leave them " more at large, were to expoſe them to thoſe De- " lays and Uncertainties they would never patiently " endure. Again, it would be impoſſible any other " way to keep Secrecy in Buſineſs, (which yet is the " Life of Council) or almoſt to find out who is the " Divulger. Moreover, if your Highneſs would not " ſeem to have Advice proceed from you, how eaſy " may your Highneſs diſavow all, and lay the Fault " on him. Thus may your Highneſs find the many " Uſes you may make of your Favourite; yet, Sir, " let me ſay, I ſhall never adviſe your Highneſs to " ſee by his Eyes, or hear by his Ears only; this " were to keep you in too much Darkneſs and Sub-

" jection;

" jection: To prevent this therefore, be pleaſed to ap-
" point able Perſons, and ſuch as may not know of
" each other, by whom your Highneſs may be in-
" formed not only what is done, but even ſaid vul-
" garly: Thus ſhall your Highneſs take Order not
" to be deceived. As for the more intricate and
" doubtful Parts of Buſineſs, which require par-
" ticular Scrutiny and Examination, your Highneſs
" may do well, in my Opinion, to have three or four
" confident Perſons, not yet of the Body of your
" Council, with whom ſeparately you may adviſe,
" before thoſe Difficulties may be brought into
" them.

" This will enable you to ſpeak thereof when you
" transfer it to the Body of your Council, and make
" you diſcern their Opinions only. If any thing be
" determined, let your Favourite be the chief Actor
" in the Execution thereof: Then your Highneſs
" may pleaſe to adviſe, neither will I preſume to
" nominate myſelf; otherwiſe only I will crave Leave
" to ſay thus much, that when your Highneſs will,
" out of your own Election, think fit to uſe my
" Service herein, I doubt not but ſo to eſtabliſh and
" conſerve your Highneſs's Authority, as to make
" you the greateſt and happieſt Prince living, neither
" ſhall I fear to fall when any Benefit to your Majeſty
" will grow thereby."

His Lordſhip adds further, that this Speech ſo far prevailed on the King, that, without any other Advice or Conſideration, he ordered *Wolſey* to diſpatch his chiefeſt Affairs.

Mr. Collier's *Account of* Wolſey.

The learned Mr. *Collier*, in his Account of *Wolſey*, upon the King's firſt coming to the Crown, ſays, " That,
" tho' he indulged the King in his Humour, yet he
" reminded him of Buſineſs, and particularly en-
" deavoured to make him ſenſible, what Advantage
" Trade and Navigation was to his Kingdom; which

" induced the King, in his youthful Days, to be very " Attentive in that reſpect, both in giving his Sub- " jects Letters of Safe-conduct, and, in caſe they ſuſ- " tained any Damage by Foreigners, in demanding " Satisfaction; and, if that was not to be had, to " repel Force by Force."

Polidor Virgil's *Account of* Wolſey.

Wolſey's inveterate Enemy, *Polidor Virgil*, (and for what Reaſon he was ſo we ſhall hereafter mention) relates, " That *Wolſey* was of ſuch a gay, fa- " cetious Temper, that he could ſuit his Humour to " the King's, ſo as to make it agreeable to the Le- " vity and Paſſion of Youth; and, that *Wolſey* would " ſing, laugh, dance, and play with the young Cour- " tiers, who were moſt in Favour with the King." And this *Polidor*, and the Hiſtorians that have danced after his Pipe, carry *Wolſey*'s Behaviour much farther; tho', even *Polidor* himſelf, Page 19, con- feſſes, " That, after a Share of the Publick Buſineſs " was devolved by the King on *Wolſey*, his Majeſty, " tho' in that reſpect diſengaged and at Liberty, being " well-diſpoſed, inſtructed, and formed for Empire, " did not wholly neglect his Duty; but, that he " might employ his Time both commendably and " to Advantage, applied himſelf to the Study of " good Literature; ſometimes at his Leiſure Hours " with Muſick, at other times with Divinity, and " this he did by the Advice of *Wolſey*."

But another Author ſays, " After *Wolſey* ſenſibly " found he grew greatly in the King's Favour, the " uſe he made of it was to ſhew the King the Er- " rors he had committed, ſince his Acceſſion to the " Throne, and wherein he had miſpent his Time. " Theſe Remonſtrances the King, tho' young, re- " ceived very kindly, judging it proceeded from " the Paſſion *Wolſey* had for his Glory and " Honour."

Something

Something may be offered in Defence of *Wolſey*'s Advice to the King, upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Throne, that, neglecting State-affairs, and truſting them to his Adminiſtration, he ſhould follow his Studies and his Pleaſure, provided they were ſuch as he might innocently follow, and without any Diminution of his Royal Character. *Wolſey* obſerved, that his Majeſty was of a reſolute Temper, very tenacious of the firſt Impreſſions he had received, impatient of all Oppoſition; yet, if we may judge from the great Succeſs and Glory of his Reign, while the Affairs of it were directed by *Wolſey*, and from the many and great Diſorders that happened after his Diſgrace, when the King took the Reins of Government into his own Hands, his early Advice was well grounded. *Reflections thereon.*

As ſoon as it was known at *Rome*, that Mr. *Wolſey*, the King's Almoner, had highly gained his Maſter's Eſteem, the Pope did not forget to ſhew his Reſpect for this riſing Miniſter, nor were his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors Abroad behind-hand in courting his Friendſhip; and we find particularly a Letter to *Wolſey* from Archbiſhop *Baynbridge*, wherein he calls him his *right, intire, beloved Brother in Chriſt*, and requeſts *his kind and loving Mind to him and his Cauſes*; and there are other Expreſſions in the Letter whereby it fully appears, that *Wolſey* had now a conſiderable Weight at Court, and was capable of doing his Freinds Service with the King.

This Year Mr. *Wolſey* was made Dean of *Hereford*, and Chancellor of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. Wolſey's *further Preferment.*

His Majeſty alſo was pleaſed to appoint Dr. *Blythe*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*, which Poſt he held to the Time of his Death, which happened in the Year 1524. *Biſhop* Blythe *made Preſident of* Wales.

The

Affairs of Ireland. 1512.

The Earl of *Kildare* employed moſt of his Time the laſt Year, in putting himſelf in a Condition to appear, formidable againſt the Enemies of the publick Peace, early this Spring, and undertake an Expedition into *Ulſter*. The Caſtle of *Belfaſt*, which had been deſtroyed about nine Years before, was now again repaired, but was ſoon rendered unable to reſiſt the Power of the Deputy.

It does not appear that *Kildare* met with much Oppoſition, or that he had much more to do than to drive the Rebels before him, and deſtroy this Caſtle, which after he had done, and reduced that Part of the Country to Quietneſs, he returned to *Dublin*.

Whilſt the Lord Deputy was thus employed, Doctor *Rokeby*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, held a Provincial Synod at *Dublin*; but what they did is uncertain, for the Canons are loſt. This Year the Earl built the new Chapel in the Choir of *Chriſt-church*, *Dublin*, where himſelf was afterwards buried: And the Citizens of *Dublin*, having conceived a high Diſpleaſure againſt Sir *James Ormond*, the late Lord Treaſurer, (and not the Earl of *Ormond*, as *Hollingſhead* relates) they aſſaulted him in St. *Patrick*'s Church with their Bows and Arrows, where, ſhooting at Random, inſtead of hitting *Ormond*, they defaced ſeveral Images, *&c.* tho' with much Difficulty Sir *James* eſcaped with his Life.

The Pope, on hearing this Violence in the Church, ſent a Legate into *Ireland*, to enquire into that Affair on the Spot. The Legate, after his Arrival, ſpent ſome time therein, and at laſt enjoined this Penance, *That the Mayor of* Dublin *ſhould go barefoot through the City before the* Euchariſt, *on* Corpus Chriſti *Day*; which was performed accordingly: And here finiſhes the Year 1512.

THE

Affairs of Italy, Spain, France, &c. 1513.

THE Emperor was ſtill purſuing his uſual Inconſtancy; for, though he had, towards the Cloſe of the laſt Year, entered into a League with the King of *England*, he ſeemed now to have forgot it, and ſent to propoſe a freſh League with *Lewis*, wherein he offered to aſſiſt him in conquering the *Milaneſe*, provided *Lewis* would aſſiſt him in the War he propoſed to carry on againſt the *Venetians*; and, to ſhew he was for cultivating a good Underſtanding betwixt them, demanded *Renee*, *Lewis*'s ſecond Daughter, for *Charles* of *Auſtria*, his Grandſon.

Lewis hearkened to theſe Propoſals with a ſeeming Inclination to accept them, thereby hoping to create Suſpicions in the *Switzers* and *Venetians*, and incline them the ſooner to join with him; and, as the latter deſired nothing more than a ſtrict Union with *France*, nothing could retard the Negotiation, except the Hopes of an Agreement with the Emperor; in which Caſe they would have gladly renounced all other Leagues: But as for the *Switzers*, it was very improbable that *Lewis* ſhould gain them to his Side, though he offered them more than at firſt was demanded; for, beſides their Hatred towards him, the Face of their Affairs were altered, ſince the Reſtoration of *Sforza* to *Milan*. Whilſt that Prince was in Exile it was doubtful, whether in good Policy they ought to engage in a War with *France* for his Sake; but, ſince he was by their Aſſiſtance in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy, their Honour and Intereſt required their utmoſt Endeavours to ſupport him. However, *Lewis*'s Deſire of agreeing with the *Switzers* not ſucceeding, he was under a Neceſſity to join in a League either with the Emperor, or *Venice*.

In the mean time the *Venetians* ſent and propoſed a League to him, upon the ſame Terms with that of the Year 1498, namely, "That they would aſſiſt "him to recover the *Milaneſe*, provided he would "reſign

" reſign *Cremona* and *Gierradada* to them." *Lewis* readily liſtened to their Offers, but they did not haſten the Concluſion, by reaſon of ſome Affairs that afterwards fell out.

The King of *Spain*, having good Intelligence of what paſſed between *Lewis* and the *Venetians*, informed the Emperor of it, and adviſed him to offer *Verona* to the *Venetians* for a Sum of Money, which proved, for ſome time a fruitleſs Negotiation.

Pope *Julius* longed for the Seaſon proper to take the Field; accordingly, in *February*, he doubled his Preparations for opening the Campaign with the Siege of *Ferrara*, but Death firſt beſieged him, who never fails of carrying his Point; yet his Holineſs had kindled a Flame, that was not extinguiſhed even by his giving up the Ghoſt.

Death of Julius, *and his farther Character.*

The Pope died on the 21ſt of *February*, who took the Name of *Julius*, from his Inclination to War, in Reſpect to the great *Julius Ceſar*. " He " was a Prince of incredible Conſtancy, ſays *Guicciardin*, but ſo full of Fury and unruled Conceptions, that the Reverence that was due to the " Church, the Diſcord of Princes, and the Condition " of the Times, did more to ſtay him from his " Ruin, than either his Moderation or Diſcretion; " worthy, no doubt, of great Glory, if either he " had been a ſecular Prince, or if that Care and " Intention, which he had to raiſe the Church into " temporal Greatneſs, by Means of War, had been " employed to exalt it by the Moderation of Peace. " He was endowed with a high Spirit, inſomuch that, " if he had been a Temporal Prince, he would have deſerved to have been placed among the Number of the " Heroes." Other Authors ſay, " That, had it not been " for his Fierceneſs, he had not recovered to the Church " the beſt Part of her Patrimony." *Paulus Jovius* affirms, " That when *Julius* died, he having a vaſt De-

" ſign,

" ſign upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, that the Title " of Deliverer of *Italy*, which *Julius* ſuffered himſelf " to be flattered with, he declared, *was but an emp-* " *ty Name, whilſt the* Spaniards *were poſſeſſed* of Na- " ples; this one Circumſtance gave him ſo much Un- " eaſineſs, that he was once heard to ſay, *If God let* " *me act*, ſtriking his Stick upon the Ground, *this* " *ſhall not laſt long*; meaning, that he would not be " long before he ſhould endeavour to drive the *Spa-* " *niards* out of *Italy*, as he had done the *French*." Hiſtorians ſay further of him, " That he was a Lover " of Wine and Women:" And *du Pleſſis* puts the following Words into *Maximilian*'s Mouth, " *Good* " *God! what would become of the World, if thou* " *didſt not take a particular Care of it under the Reign* " *of ſuch an Emperor as I am, who am but a poor* " *Hunter, and under that of ſo wicked and drunken a* " *Pope, as* Julius *the* IId." *Francis Hotman* ſays, " That *Julius*'s Hatred againſt *France* was ſo exceſſive, " that he ordered all the *French* to be killed which " could be met with:" And ſome affirm further, " That his Rage had no Bounds againſt *Lewis*, for that " he had actually made a Decree, to transfer the " Kingdom of *France*, and the Title of *Moſt Chriſ-* " *tian*, to the King of *England*; but, juſt as he was " upon the Point of publiſhing it, he was called out " of the World. His Diſeaſe was a hectic Feaver, " cauſed, as himſelf ſaid, by the Uneaſineſs he was " under, that he could not bring the *Venetians* to a- " gree with the Emperor."

We ſhall conclude our Account of Pope *Julius* with the following ſevere Lines, made on him,

He that from Greece *and* Genoa *had his Blood,*
And on the Waves his Birth, Can he be good?
The Genoeſe *Cheats, the* Greeks *Men Liars call,*
The Sea perfidious is, yet Julius *had them all.*

As ſoon as it was known that the Pope was dead, the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, having recovered his Spirits, loſt at the Battle of *Ravenna*, entered *Placentia* without Oppoſition, which he delivered, as well as *Parma*, to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Milan*.

Before the Death of *Julius*, *Ferdinand* was employed in framing a Plot perfectly tallying with the reſt of his ſly Pranks; for, the beginning of the Year, he had ſent two Monks into *France*, to make ſome Overtures to *Lewis*, in Relation to a Peace with him, by Means of Queen *Anne*, to whom they had Acceſs: But, as *Lewis* thought it not poſſible to make a Peace, or even a Truce, with *Ferdinand*, without leaving him in Poſſeſſion of *Navarre*, he at firſt received them very coldly; yet, at length conſidering, he could hardly expect to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, whilſt the King of *Spain* was his Enemy, (who had excited the King of *England* alſo to enter into a War againſt him) conceived it proper to agree to a Truce for a Year, on Condition *Henry* was included in it, and *Italy* excepted, apprehending that, during this Truce, he ſhould be able to reconquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, after which he ſhould be ſufficiently ſtrong to defend his own Kingdom againſt the *Engliſh*.

Truce of Orthez.

Nothing was further from *Henry*'s Thoughts than ſuch a Truce, which would have broke all his Meaſures, and yet *Ferdinand* anſwered for him, as if he was ſure of his Conſent. This Affair was begun in *January*, when *Lewis* empowered *Lautrec*, to treat with *Ferdinand*'s Commiſſioners, and the Truce was concluded, at *Orthez* in *Bearne*, the 1ſt of *April*, which runs thus: "That there ſhould be a Truce for a Year (in *Italy* "excepted) between the King of *France*, the King of "*Scotland*, and the Duke of *Guelders* on the one Part; "and on the other the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and "the King of *England*." But, as *Ferdinand* knew he ſhould not eaſily obtain *Henry*'s Conſent, he cauſed this Stipulation

Stipulation to be inſerted, " That it ſhould be ra-
" tified within a Month by himſelf and *Lewis*, but
" that the other Parties ſhould be allowed two Months,
" and that the Truce ſhould take Place, as to them,
" from the Day they ſigned."

Never ſure did any Prince act in ſo bold a Manner as *Ferdinand* did on this Occaſion; but his Aſſurance (as we may phraſe it) was ſtill more palpable, in that he not only took no Steps to perſuade *Henry* to do what he had undertaken for him, but even concealed the Truce from him, tho' at that very Time *Henry* was making mighty Preparations for War againſt *France*, and greatly encouraged therein by *Ferdinand* himſelf.

As ſoon as the Truce was ſigned *Ferdinand* took care to publiſh to the World, that he had been very ill uſed by the Allies of the League in *Italy*, inaſmuch as the Pope and the *Venetians* had acquired many Places, when he (*poor Soul!*) had gained nothing at all, and yet they refuſed to ſend the Supply to his Army, which they had undertaken to do, in order to get the remaining Places into their Hands, that the *French* poſſeſſed in *Italy*; but this was only to prepare People to receive with leſs Surprize and Indignation the private Truce he had juſt made with *France*, without the Knowledge of his Allies.

Leo X. *elected Pope.*

Now the Minds of the Publick were taken up with the Election of a new Pope, and, from among the various Candidates for that Dignity, Cardinal *John de Medici* was elected Pope, *March* the 11th, who aſſumed the Name of *Leo* the Xth, and was but thirty ſeven Years old, tho' he had been honoured with a Cardinal's Hat, at fourteen Years of Age, by *Innocent* the VIIIth. He had a noble as well as a very learned Education, and always loved and protected Men of Wit and profound Literature. In his Youth he had the Opportunity of great Experience, having been

employed in divers important Affairs. In his Temper he was not ſo hot, nor in his Behaviour ſo haughty as his immediate Predeceſſor, but was much more Politick, and did not leave the Politicians long in Suſpence; for it doubly concerned him to keep the *French* out of *Italy*: *Firſt*, as a Pope, ſince Neighbours ſo powerful could not but give him Uneaſineſs: *Secondly*, As Head of the Houſe of *Medici*, he had Cauſe to fear, that, if *Lewis* recovered the *Milaneſe*, he would undertake to reſtore the *Florentines* to their Liberty. Next his Holineſs wiſhed to put an End to the Council of *Piſa*; the ready Way to do which, he judged, was to engage *Lewis* in ſuch Wars that ſhould compel him to make his Peace with the Church.

Ferdinand had likewiſe had his Views to keep the King of *France* at a diſtance from *Navarre*, *Rouſſillon*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*.

As for the Emperor it was his Intereſt to diſable *France* from aſſiſting the *Venetians*; tho' none of them had any deſire to carry the War into *France*, but only ſo to manage, that each one's Diverſion might be made at another's Expence.

They all caſt their Eyes upon *Henry* the VIIIth, as a Prince extremely proper to execute their Deſigns, becauſe he had ready Money, warlike Subjects, could with eaſe tranſport Troops into ſome Parts of *France*, (remote from the Borders of *Spain* and *Italy*) was exceeding deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by illuſtrious Actions, and ſcrupled not to ſhew it publickly: So each of them laboured with all his Power to forward him in his Deſign to wage War with *France*, by putting him in Hopes of being vigorouſly ſupported.

Leo the Xth was no ſooner in the Papal Chair, but, under Colour of notifying his Promotion, ſent *Henry* a Letter, aſſuring him, "He was fully determined to "adhere to the League formed by his Predeceſſor, "and

" and ready to conclude a new one with *England*." But at the ſame time he preſſed the Emperor to make a Peace with *Venice*, intirely neglecting, or forgetting, the Treaty his Predeceſſor had made with the Emperor againſt that Republick, to hinder their Union with *France*, and promiſed the *Venetians* to uſe all his Intereſt with the Emperor, to obtain them honourable and advantageous Terms. All theſe Practices could not be managed ſo privately, as to prevent the King of *France*'s getting ſome Intelligence of them; ſo that he ſoon grew very jealous of the new Pope.

The Pope's Preſent to the King of England.

Leo alſo at this Time preſented the King of *England* with a Sword and a Hat, and, after the uſual Form of Benediction, acquainted him, " That, in Teſtimony of " the great Regard he entertained for his Majeſty, " on account of his many excellent Qualities, eſ- " pecially his great Zeal for *Religion* and the *Church*, " he ſent him a *conſecrated Hat* and *Sword*;" the Signification whereof he explained by telling him, " it " denoted the two Powers Spiritual and Temporal, " wherewith the *Roman* Pontiff was of Right inveſted, " wiſhing him Succeſs and Proſperity in the Uſe of " them againſt the Enemies of the Church, as well " as his own." This Letter is directed to *The moſt Chriſtian King*, and is the only authentick Inſtrument we have met with under that Title, which was promiſed and granted him by *Julius* the IId.

Treaty of Mechlin.

Henry did not want much Sollicitation to carry his Arms into *France*, his Thoughts being already bent that *Way*, eſpecially as the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Spain* had promiſed to act powerfully on his Behalf; therefore readily conſented to form a new League with theſe Princes, and, that it might be the more ſecretly carried on, it was agreed, that it ſhould be negotiated at *Mechlin* between *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, (Governeſs

verneſs of the *Low Countries*, authorized by the Emperor her Father) and the Ambaſſador of the King of *England*, who ſoon concluded a Treaty againſt *France*; and, though *Ferdinand* had ſigned a Truce with *Lewis*, he made himſelf the principal Party in this League, the Subſtance of which follows:

" That, within thirty Days after the Date thereof, " each of the Confederates ſhall proclaim War againſt " *France*, and within two Months invade him, *viz.* the " Pope in *Provence* or *Dauphine*, the Emperor where " he thought moſt convenient, the King of *Spain* in " *Bearne*, *Guienne*, or *Languedoc*; the King of *Eng-* " *land* in *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and their " Armies to be ſtrong, and well provided with all " Things.—That the Pope ſhould ſtrenuouſly circu- " late his Cenſures againſt all the Oppoſers of this " League, and the Abettors of the contrary Party.— " That, towards the Expences of the War, the King " of *England* ſhould give the Emperor 100,000 Crowns " of Gold, at three Payments, 35,000 preſently af- " ter the Declaration of the War, as much more when " the War was begun, and 30,000 within three Months " after.—That the Emperor entered not into this " League, as Guardian to *Charles* his Grandſon; but " upon his own Account.—That the Emperor and " King of *England* ſhould ratify the Treaty within a " Month, and the Pope and the King of *Spain* within " two Months; with this expreſs Reſtriction, that, in caſe " the Pope and the King of *Spain* ſhould not ratify " the Treaty by the Time appointed, it ſhould how- " ever be in Force between the Emperor and the " King of *England*. Laſtly, the Confederates re- " nounced all Exceptions whatever, and particularly " that which might be made to another's ſtipulating " for them."

Never perhaps was ſeen more Inſincerity than in this Treaty, ſince, of all the Confederates, *Henry* alone intended to keep his Word. *Leo* did not ratify it, *Fer-*

Ferdinand diſowned his Ambaſſador, the Emperor received the firſt Payment from *Henry*, and never troubled himſelf to perform his Engagements. However, in the mean time, the Treaty being brought to *London*, *Ferdinand*'s Ambaſſador approved and ratified it, *April* the 28th.

It may be thought ſtrange, that an Emperor, a Pope, and a King of *Spain* ſhould thus join to lay ſuch a Snare for a young Prince of but 21 Years of Age, and ſo nearly allied to *Ferdinand* by Marriage; but certain it is, that where *Self-intereſt* lies near the Heart, Ties of Blood or Friendſhip are too often forgot.

Henry, relying upon the Diverſions his pretended Allies would make in the Places aforeſaid, flattered himſelf he might eaſily extend his Conqueſts to *Picardy*; full of theſe Conceits we ſhall leave him making extraordinary Preparations by Sea and Land, for his intended Expedition, and return to Affairs in *Italy*.

The *Venetians*, not being able to conclude a Peace with the Emperor, who pretended to ſubject them to very unreaſonable Terms, ſollicited a-freſh the Negotiation they had begun with *France*; and now *Lewis*, to whom Time was precious, readily accepted their Propoſals, and a League between them was quickly concluded, on the ſame Foot as that of the Year 1498, which was tranſacted by *Andrew Gritti*, then Priſoner in *France*, who hereon was releaſed, as well as the brave General *Alviano*, who alſo had been a Priſoner there ever ſince the Battle of *Agnadel*; but, at his Return, his graceful Maſters made this great Soldier General of the Republick's Forces.

When *Lewis* had concluded this Treaty, he ordered his beſt Troops to march into *Italy*, depending on the Truce concluded at *Orthez*, and *Ferdinand*'s Undertaking for *Henry*'s coming into it. The Commander of theſe Forces was the famous Marſhal *la Trimoville*, and they ſoon arrived at the Borders of the

the *Milaneſe*; on which Duke *Maximilian* quitted his Capitol, and retired among the *Switz*, who were a Body of 10 or 11,000 Men ſhut up in *Como* and *Navarra*, where they expected Supplies from their own Country.

The Duke of *Milan*, having only the *Switzers* to oppoſe the *French*, *Milan* and the reſt of the Towns of the Dutchy, except *Como* and *Novarra*, ſubmitted to *la Trimoville*.

Whilſt the *French* were making theſe Conqueſts, *Alviano*, the *Venetian* General, took *Peſchiera*, *Breſcia*, and other Places, but failed in his Attempt upon *Verona*.

About this Time the Faction of the *Adernes*, who in *Genoa* ſided with *France*, found Means to become ſuperior, and put the City again under the Dominion of the *French* King.

Lewis was now in Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, except *Como* and *Navarra*, which ſo flushed his Generals, that they threatned nothing but Fire and Sword againſt thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them; but their Alertneſs was but of ſhort Continuance; for the Glory of this War was reſerved, to the no ſmall Infamy of the *French*, the *Germans*, the *Spaniſh* Regiments, and the *Venetian* Bands, for the *Switzers* only, againſt whom the *French* Army, having firſt left ſufficient Garriſon in *Alexandria*, drew near to *Navarra*, boaſting of what Enemies they had ſubdued, of their having taken Priſoner, in this very Town, *Ludovico Sforza*, Father to the preſent Duke of *Milan*, and that they would alſo take and ſend him to their Maſter; before which Town they were no ſooner ſet down but they begun the Siege, and did great Executions upon the Walls with their Artillery. As for the *Switzers*, they contemned the *French* ſo much, that they would not ſuffer the Gate of the Town to be ſhut, that opened towards the Camp. After the Beſiegers had beaten down a ſufficient Space of the Wall,

Wall, they made a general Aſſault, but were repulſed with great Loſs. Upon this Diſappointment, and hearing the *Switzers* expected a large Reinforcement, the *French* loſt Courage, all their late Debonnair was vaniſhed, and they very ſilently retired two Miles from the City, comforting themſelves with the Hopes of ſtarving the Enemy out: But they quickly found the contrary, for *Molin*, a reſolute *Switz* Captain, calling together his Soldiers on the Market-place, encouraged them to take this Opportunity to attack the *French*, before they ſettled in a new Camp, and not tarry for the Succours expected the Day following; adding, "That the greater the Danger, the "more Honour; that, in caſe they ſucceeded, they "ſhould be greatly enriched by the Spoils of their "Enemies: And, ſaid he, where Honour, Booty, "and perpetual Praiſe are to be acquired, what can "be wanting to provoke ſuch as we are to fight?"

At this Speech the Bands of Soldiers much rejoiced, every one approving the Captain's Advice by holding up his Hand. Then he ordered them to take Refreſhment and reſt themſelves; but not to fail of being ready when the Drum beat.

The Nation of *Switzers* never made a more brave nor more reſolute Appearance than upon this Occaſion, being but a few in Number, without Horſemen, without Artillery, though going to engage an Army mighty in Men, Ammunition, Horſes, and all other Things for Defence.

The Switz *ſurprize and beat the* French *Army.*

On the 6th Day of *June*, about Midnight, they iſſued out of *Navarra*, bearing Minds leſs affected to Safety, than to Glory, their whole Strength being about 9000 Men, 7000 of which were appointed to charge the *French* Artillery, that was guarded by the Lance-knights; the Reſidue were to confront, with their Pikes upright, the Men at Arms. The

French Army, who expected no ſuch Attack, or at leaſt looked not for it ſo ſoon, had made no Fortification to their Camp; ſo that the firſt Alarm, their Centinels gave of the Enemies Approach, being ſo unexpected, with the Darkneſs of the Night, throwed them into Confuſion, and it was with great Difficulty that they got themſelves into any Order of Battle; however, at laſt they made ſhift to diſcharge their Artillery briſkly, which did great Execution, as was perceived by the Crying and Noiſe of the Wounded. Nevertheleſs, ſuch was the deſperate Reſolution of the *Switzers*, that, not diſcouraged with the Slaughter of their fellow Soldiers, dead at their Feet, they ſtill perſiſted in their Attack, and, at laſt breaking the Enemies Order, they ran as faſt as they could upon the Artillery, when the Lance-knights and they had together a bloody Medley, the one fighting againſt the other with an unappeaſable Fury, which in them both was ſo much the more redoubled by Hatred on the one Hand, and the Deſire of Glory on the other. Now the Sun began to ſhew itſelf, and the Diverſity of the Fight appeared; ſometimes one Side ſeemed to yield, ſometimes the other; but very deſperate on both: In ſhort, all Parts were full of deceaſed Bodies, wounded Men and Blood, and nothing was leſs feared than Death, nor any thing more abhorred than Fear, and the Greatneſs of the Peril made both Parties more furious and reſolute. But, what was very ſurprizing, the Men at Arms among the *French* ſtood ſtock-ſtill, for neither Authority, Perſuaſions, Exclamations, Threatnings, nor the Examples of their Generals could move the Horſemen to engage in the Battle, they were ſo much ſeized with Fear, that, they ſeemed to ſtand and abide the Danger, which by fighting they might have avoided; and it ſufficed the *Switzers* to keep them impaled in their Ranks, and to hinder them from miniſtring

niſtring Succours to the Footmen. Such was the Calamity of that Fight, that thoſe found moſt Peril, who ventured moſt for their Safety; and ſuch, whoſe Fear was greater than their Valour, Fortune threw moſt into Security. In fine the *Switzers* won the Artillery, and turned them upon their Enemies, who were ſoon put to Flight; and to the flying of the Footmen was joined the breaking and running away of the Men at Arms; except the Lord *Robert la March*, who, moved with the Affection of a Father, entered the *Swiſs* Army with a Squadron of Horſemen, to reſcue *Florango* and *James*, his two Sons, Captains of Foot, both lying on the Earth grievouſly wounded; by whoſe uncommon Valour, to the no ſmall Surprize of the *Switzers*, they were carried off.

After the Battle had continued ſome Hours, Victory every where declared for the *Swiſs*. There was ſlain of the *Switzers* only 1500, of which Number was their valiant Captain *Molin*, who received his Death-wound by the Thruſt of a Pike thro' the Throat: Far greater was the Loſs of the *French*, of whom, ſome ſay, were left dead no leſs than 10,000, the moſt part of the Lance-knights glorioufly dying in the Fight. The greateſt Execution and Slaughter befel the *French* and *Gaſcoigne* Footmen in their ſhameful Flight, but, more was the Pity, almoſt all the Horſemen went away in Safety, who puſhed off ſo ſwiftly, that the *Switzers* were not able to follow them. If the *Switzers* had had Horſemen, in all Probability, they had made their Calamity equal, if not worſe, than the Footmen, their Cowardice being ſo inexpreſſible, and their Diſorder ſo uncommon. All the *French* Baggage became a Prey to the Victors, with twenty two Pieces of great Artillery, and all the Horſes aſſigned for the Service of the ſame. Among the Wounded was the Marſhal *la Trimoville*, and the Father of the Marſhal *de Flouranges*, who

received, as the Marſhal ſays in his *Memoirs*, forty ſix Wounds, and yet recovered. The *Switzers* returned into *Navarra*, crowned with ſo much Victory, and loaded with ſo great Spoils, that to their Renown, the Magnanimity of their Enterprize, the evident deſpiſing of Death, the Reſolution they ſhewed in the Fight, and the happy and honourable Conqueſt, run through all *Europe*. "There were many, ſays *Guic-* "*ciardin*, who did not ſtick to rank this Battle and "Victory with ſome of the moſt magnified among "the *Greeks* and *Romans*."

The Remainder of the *French*, after this exceeding Overthrow, fled to *Piedmont*, where *la Trimoville* ſoon heard the News of new Troubles in the *Milaneſe*; for the Viceroy of *Naples*, upon the late Defeat, ſent ſome Forces to *Genoa*, upon which that City revolted from the *French*, and was reſtored to its antient Form of Government.

Maximilian, Duke of *Milan*, who had been expelled his Dutchy, took Poſſeſſion of it again; ſo that by theſe ſurpriſing Viciſſitudes, in the King of *France*'s Affairs, *Lewis* got and loſt *Genoa* and *Milan* in leſs than a Month.

The *Venetians*, hearing what had befel the *French*, haſtily retired into their own Territories, and formed the Siege of *Verona*. The Viceroy of *Naples* purſued and fell on the *Venetians*, and obliged them to raiſe the Siege, then beat them in a pitched Battle near *Vicenza*, and after that entered the *Venetian* Territories, took ſeveral Towns, and even ravaged the Country within ſight of *Venice*; inſomuch, that the Republick was fallen almoſt into the ſame Condition it had been in formerly, to which *Lewis* had reduced it, after the Battle of *Agnadel*, as to its Poſſeſſions on the Continent. In which unhappy Condition we ſhall once more leave them.

But

But the *Swiſs* were not contented in driving the *French* out of the *Milaneſe*, they even followed them into their own Country, and the Opportunity was favourable, by reaſon of the ſeveral before mentioned Junctures; to improve which they inſtantly levied 15,000 Men. Here the Emperor was ready to join, in hopes of ſharing the Plunder; and accordingly ordered the Nobility of *French Comte*, and ſome *German* Horſe, under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to aſſiſt the *Switzers*.

The Swiſs *follow the Runaways into* France.

This Army entered *Burgundy*, and encamped before *Dijon*, where the *French* General, then lately returned from *Italy*, had, in his Turn, ſhut himſelf up with ſome Troops; but the Place was ſo weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it; tho' *la Trimoville* perceived, that, if it was given up, *France* in general would be in great Danger; therefore without waiting the King's Orders, he bound himſelf to pay the *Swiſs* 400,000 Crowns, part of which he paid down; and likewiſe, in his Maſter's Name, promiſed, that he ſhould deſiſt from all his Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Milan*.

No ſooner were theſe Articles ſigned, but the *Switzers*, being well pleaſed with their Expedition, returned home, taking with them four Hoſtages, who were to remain with them till the Articles were performed; but, as ſoon as the Hoſtages heard, that *Lewis* refuſed to ratify the Articles, they found Means to make their Eſcapes; and with this Incident we ſhall quit, for this Year, the War abroad, wherein *England* was not immediately concerned.

Affairs of England. 1513.

Henry, whilſt the Land-forces were getting ready, ordered a large Fleet to be fitted out for ſcouring the Seas, and protecting the Coaſts. The Command of this Fleet he gave to Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord high Admiral, which conſiſted of forty two Line of Battle Ships, and

and they ſailed to the Coaſt of *France*, and found the *French* Fleet ſnug in the Harbour of *Breſt*. The Admiral, nevertheleſs, reſolved to attack them, and ſent Notice thereof to the King, and deſired his Majeſty would come in Perſon, to have the Honour of the Action. Whatever might be the King's Inclination, he was diſſuaded therefrom by his Council; ſo that the Anſwer the Admiral received was, in general, to do his Duty. Whereupon he landed 1500 Men againſt *Breſt*, burnt the Country in ſight of the Caſtle and 10,000 *French*, who were drawn up together, and thought fit not to oppoſe them.

The Fleet being now in ſome want of Proviſions, for the preſent the Admiral ſtopped his Progreſs till a freſh Supply arrived: But, having Notice where the *French* Gallies lay, he reſolved to attack them, and he himſelf entered one of the Row-barges in Purſuit of them, tho' they lay between Rocks, whereon were placed ſeveral Pieces of Ordinance. About four a Clock in the Afternoon he entered the *French* Admiral's Galley Sword in Hand, attended by Sir *John Wallop*,* and ſeventeen *Engliſh* jolly Tars at his Heels, who ſoon drove out the Enemy; but, the Tide being far ſpent, the other Barges could not come up to his Aſſiſtance, which the *French* perceiving, they re-entered the Galley, with Spikes and Spears, begun a new Fight, and the Row-barge being driven away by the Violence of the Tide, his Men were moſt of them killed by his Side, where he, ſtill maintaining the Fight, was with a Spear thrown over-board, and drowned; with much Difficulty Sir *John Wallop* eſcaped, and our Fleet, having thus loſt their moſt gallant Admiral, returned home.

The Engliſh *Admiral drowned.*

Thus

* From this gallant Sea-Officer the preſent Right honourable *John Wallop*, Lord Viſcount *Lymington* is deſcended; who married the Lady *Bridget*, eldeſt Daughter to *George* Earl of *Tankerville*, by whom he has ſeveral Children.

Thus died our valiant Sir *Edward Howard*,* rather by his own Intrepedity, than the Conduct of his Enemies. His Raſhneſs indeed was blamed, as the Cauſe of his unfortunate Death, but his Honour and Bravery muſt ſtill ſurvive in the Records of Fame; of whom it may be truly affirmed, that his whole Life was but one Scene of noble, generous, and magnanimous Actions, which begun even in his Infancy. He was ſecond Son of *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, a valuable Deſcendant to that illuſtrious Houſe; for whether we view the great Endowments of his Mind, or the Extenſiveneſs of his Genius, we ſhall be equally and agreeably ſurpriſed, eſpecially in War, for which he was ſo well qualified, that never was he ſo well pleaſed, as when attempting the moſt dangerous Enterprizes; for thoſe Dangers which would raiſe Tremors in others, put him into Repoſe and a natural Temper.

By Land he always led the Van of the Army, and ruſhed into the hotteſt Fire of the Enemy. At Sea he deſpiſed Danger, and ſhewed Courage even to a Fault, with whom this was a Maxim, *That a Seaman was good for nothing, and ſcarce worth hanging, that was not reſolute, even to ſome Degree of Madneſs.*

The *French*, thinking to take Advantage of the Admiral's Death, took it into their Heads to land ſome Men in *Suſſex*, where they met with ſuch a Reception, as induced them to return on Board, without doing much Damage to the Country.

The Nation ſuſtaining a very great Loſs, by the Death of this famous Admiral, in ſome meaſure to repair it, the King was pleaſed to confer the Command of his Fleet on the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldeſt Brother of the Deceaſed. No ſooner had he received his Commiſſion, but he repaired on board the Fleet, and

* From this brave Gentleman the Right Honourable *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Suffolk*, the Right Honourable *Henry Bowes Howard*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, and the Right Honourable *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*, are deſcended.

and ſo ſcoured the Seas of the *French*, that they were no more to be ſeen on the *Engliſh* Coaſt.

Now his Majeſty became more attentive to the Tranſactions of State, in order to form himſelf for Government, and obtain a further Knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*.

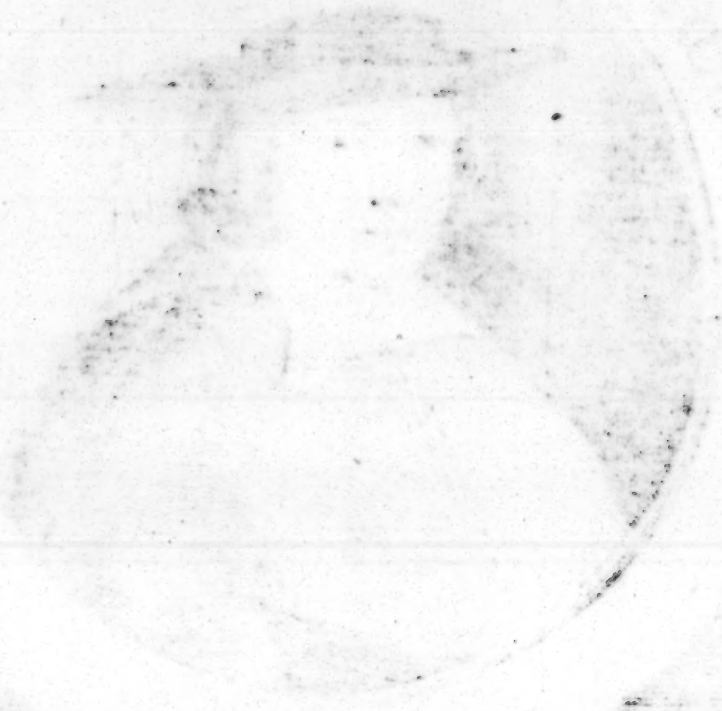
Strype ſays, "This War was undertaken out of "Zeal to the Pope, and that it might be juſtly "thought, as *Wolſey* was become greatly in Favour, "that he encouraged it, not only to ſhew himſelf "a true Churchman, but alſo to ſerve the private "Ends of his own Ambition, when it ſhould be "known to the Pope, how he was the Inſtrument "of ſtirring up the King to this chargeable Piece "of Service."

We can't agree with the learned Mr. *Strype*, in this, *that the War was greatly encouraged by Mr.* Wolſey; for, nothing appearing either in Print or Manuſcript, to ſupport it, on the contrary, it is moſt likely, that this War was projected and adviſed by the King's Privy Council, prior to *Wolſey*'s coming into the Miniſtry: And that it was a Spark of Zeal in his Majeſty as well as Bravery, that put him upon it, which may in ſome meaſure be collected from a Letter of the King's to Sir *David Owen*, deſiring him to attend him into *France* with 60 Archers and 40 Bills on Foot, aſſigning theſe Reaſons for the Expedition.

The King's Letter to Sir David Owen.

"That it was according to his Duty "to God and his Church, at the Re-"queſt and Deſire of his Holineſs "and other Chriſtian Princes; that it "was for the Defence of the Pope and the Church, "being by the *French* King oppreſſed, and for ex-"tinguiſhing the deteſtable Schiſm, raiſed by certain "perverſe Cardinals, and maintained by the ſame "King; and that, for God's Quarrel as well as "recovering his own Right, he would proſecute and "carry on the War, and perſonally proceed him-

ſelf



CARDINAL BAYNBRIDGE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
N. Parr Sculp

" ſelf into *France* with a Royal Army." In the Concluſion he adviſed Sir *David*, " to fulfil the Command " becoming his Honour, and as he tendered the Ad- " vancement of that meritorious Voyage."

Baynbridge's *Letter to the King.*

Cardinal *Baynbridge*, ſtill Ambaſſador at *Rome*, wrote to the King, wherein he informs his Majeſty, " of the Opi- " nion then entertained of him there, in reſpect to " his deſigned Expedition to *France:* The Pope's " Holineſs, ſays he, and all other great Men here, " look daily to hear that your Grace ſhall utterly " exterminate the *French* King, which I ſhall daily " beſeech the moſt bleſſed *Trinity* to bring to ſuch " paſs, as your Grace would deſire, with proſperous " Preſervation of your moſt high and noble Eſtate." To this Letter the King returned a ſuitable Anſwer, and aſſured the Cardinal, " That he would proſecute " the intended War with the utmoſt Vigour, for the " deſigned Purpoſe."

The *French* had raiſed a Report at *Rome*, that the King intended only to go over to *rance* in order to make a Peace with *Lewis*. But as ſoon as this Letter arrived, *Baynbridge* ſatisfied that Court, that the Report was falſe, and thereupon wrote to the King again to the following Effect:

" My Lord, the Cardinal *Hadrian* doth now greatly " value himſelf, that, ſince I did ſhew unto him your " Grace's moſt honourable Letters againſt the Schiſ- " maticks, he hath laboured extremely againſt them, " and brought the Matter into this paſs, than which " there is nothing more falſe: For it is here openly " known to all Men, that all Things, which hath " been done againſt the Schiſmaticks, hath been " brought about only by the Cardinal *Scant Vitall* " *Sedunen*, and myſelf, all others, that have done " any thing therein, have done it at our Inſtances: " Though I am very loth to write any thing againſt " any Perſon to your Grace, I can't of Duty hold my

" Peace, the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, being Reſident " here, did lately come unto me at my Seat, which " is a compleat Mile from his Home, to ſhew un- " to me, that the ſaid Cardinal *Hadrian* doth di- " vulge amongſt the Cardinals and others, certain " Things againſt your Grace's Honour: Firſt, that " your Grace would come over the Sea, not to in- " vade the Enemies of the Church, but to make a " Peace at your Pleaſure: Secondly, he ſhewed unto " the ſaid Ambaſſador, that no Man in *Rome* had " any thing from *England* but he, by reaſon he had " a Factor there, named *Polidorus*, who he ſaid was " Body and Soul to my Lord of *Winchester*, and from " whom he had been informed, that your Grace " would not in any caſe Perſonally proceed againſt " the *Frenchmen*, the which Relation did greatly diſ- " comfort all ſuch as be your Grace's Servants, and " regard your Honour; and greatly encouraged all " thoſe who be your Enemies. When I did adver- " tize the ſaid Cardinal hereof, deſiring him to make " no Relation contrary to your Grace's Letters to " me directed, in which was never found a Lie, he " did ſwear he never ſaid any ſuch thing; though " not only the ſaid Ambaſſador, but alſo ſome of the " beſt Cardinals at *Rome*, will prove it a-fore his " Face: Inſomuch the ſaid Ambaſſador of *Spain* hath " writ at this time unto the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, " now Reſident in your Grace's Court, deſiring him " to ſhew the Thing in ſuch Manner there, that " the ſaid Cardinal may be warned to deſiſt from " making ſuch untrue Relations, contrary to your " Grace's Letter and Honour. My Lord of *Wor-* " *ceſter*, your Grace's Orator here, hath and doth " daily unto your Grace right good Service in all " your Cauſes, by reaſon of the very good Favour " he is in with the Pope's Holineſs. The Pope's " Holineſs is minded, as your Grace may perceive " by his Brief, to ſend a Legate to your Grace to

" treat

" treat of univerſal Peace; but, after mine Opinion, " it ſhall neither be profitable nor honourable, that " your Grace do admit any ſuch Legate, and eſpe- " cially for that Intent: For his Holineſs does it " only for a Shew, and to keep his Oath; be- " cauſe his Mind is verily, that your Grace ſhall " make no Manner of Peace, but ſuch as ſhould " be for your Grace's Honour. Albeit, when I ſhall " have Knowledge of your Grace's Pleaſure herein, " I ſhall apply me to the ſame. Every Man here " hath regard unto his own Honour and Profit, " wherefore I doubt not but your Grace will do " the ſame."

This Letter ſhews what an Opinion Cardinal *Baynbridge* had of *Hadrian*, whoſe Actions were all of a piece, which will hereafter appear. As the Maſter was ſo indifferent, its to be preſumed his Deputy, *Polydor*, * was not very good.

* As we ſhall have Occaſion further to mention *Polydor Virgil*, we will here give the Reader the beſt Account of him we can find. *Polidor* was born in *Italy*, and was Kinſman to Cardinal *Hadrian*, Biſhop of *Bath*, the the Pope's Collector in *England*, in 1507, *Hadrian* appointed him his Deputy and ſent him into *England*, where he was ſoon after preferred to be Arch-deacon of *Wells*, and then he got into Favour with *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, who alſo preferred him to ſome Church Dignity. In the Beginning of the Year 1510, he was Naturalized, by the Name of *Polidorus Caſtellenſis Clericus*; and ſhortly after he was made a Canon of St. *Paul*'s.

The Hiſtory of *England*, which he wrote in *Latin* was famous in thoſe Days, and at firſt raiſed him great Reputation; but afterwards Objections were brought againſt it, particularly by *John Ap Rice*, who ſhewed many Errors that *Polydor Virgil* had committed in his *Hiſtory*, Book 27, wherein he ſet forth ſeveral Things that redounded to the Diſhonour of the *Britiſh* Nation. *Ap Rice* thereupon publiſhed his *Britiſh* Hiſtory in *Latin* in Oppoſition to it.

Fuller, in his *Church Hiſtory*, has this Remark, in relation to *Polydor Virgil*: " That he wrote a *Latin* " Hiſtory of *Britain* from the O- " riginal of the Nation to the 30th " Year of the Reign of King " *Henry* the VIIIth, out of many " rare Manuſcripts, which he " had collected together. Now, " partly to raiſe the Reputation " of his own Writings, (that " he might ſeem no lazy Tran- " ſcriber) partly to render him- ſelf

As to Cardinal *Baynbridge*, it appears by his Letters, that he was a watchful Servant, and ready to ſerve his Maſter, the King, in all Affairs.

Tho' *June* approached, no Emperor's Forces were in the Field, nor had the King heard one Word of his Father-in-law's being in Motion, purſuant to the late League; yet that did not deter *Henry* from putting his Part in Execution.

As the King had declared his Reſolution of commanding his Army in Perſon, ſeveral Objections were raiſed againſt it in Council: Some urged the Affection and Concern of the Nation for his Safety; that, "as a great Part of his People were ſtill attached to "the Houſe of *York*, and as there was one of that "Family in the Tower, it would not be very difficult "to ſet him on the Throne, in caſe any Diſaſter ſhould "befal his Majeſty: That a War with *France* was not "of ſuch Moment to *England*, as to hazard his *Ma*-"*jeſty*'s ſacred Perſon in a Foreign Country; and that, "if any Miſchance ſhould happen to him, it would "overwhelm the whole Nation with the greateſt "Grief."

In anſwer to theſe Objections, it was alledged, "That to commit an Army, with the Flower of the "Nobility and Gentry to any one Subject, was not "only unſafe, but might be prejudicial, becauſe of "the many Competitors for the Honour; and that it "was no new thing for a King of *England* to march "at the Head of his Army in Foreign Countries." To this it was replied, "That, as the King had no "Iſſue, it was againſt all Reaſon of State to hazard "the

"ſelf out of the Reach of Con-"futation, (being ſuſpected not "over faithful in his Relation) "he is ſaid to have burned all "thoſe rare Authors, which he "could compaſs into his Poſſeſ-"ſion: Thus, Tyrant like, he "cut down the Stairs whereby "he aſcended the Throne of his "own Knowledge. If this be "true, the World may thank "*Polydor Virgil* for his Work "*de Inventione Rerum*, but have "Cauſe to chide (not to ſay "curſe) his Memory, for his "Act *de Perditione Librarum*.

" the Kingdom to ſuch Tumults, as might follow in " caſe of his Death."

Upon theſe Debates his Majeſty took time to conſider, and, at the next Meeting of the Council, declared, " That he was not ſatisfied with the Reaſons offered for his not going over to *France* in Perſon; that, as his Inclination was now ſtronger than " before, he ſhould follow its Dictates."

The Council, perceiving that it was not eaſy to divert the King from his Intention, adviſed the putting of the Earl of *Suffolk* to Death, in order to remove the firſt Objection, which was agreed to, and he was accordingly beheaded, not only without being tried, but without having Sentence of Death paſſed upon him.

The Earl of Suffolk *beheaded.*

Echard ſays, " The Earl was of a turbulent and " audacious Spirit, and that his Head was ſtruck off " by the Direction of *Henry* the VIIth on his Death-" bed."

It ſeems to be ſomewhat particular, as there appears no legal Cauſe for putting this unhappy Prince to Death; that neither *Polydor Virgil*, Monſieur *Rapin*, nor any other of *Wolſey*'s moſt inveterate Enemies, ſhould not palm his Death on him, by alledging that he adviſed the King to take away his Life, which they might more feaſibly have done, than many other ill-natured Actions they have laid to his Charge.

To paliate this almoſt unheard of Murder, for, as he had no Trial, it can be nothing leſs, becauſe it appears he was pardoned by *Henry* the VIIth; though ſome have been pleaſed to ſay, " That *Henry* " the VIIth did not pardon him, but only promiſed " not to take away his Life; and, in Imitation of " *David*'s Commands to *Solomon* in reſpect to *Joab*, " he directed his Son to do it."

The *French* Writers aſſert, " The Earl's Brother " was at this Time in the *French* Service, command-" ed 6000 Men, and began to make a great Figure;"

which

which its ſuppoſed was one Motive for taking him off to prevent any Inconveniency from the other ſide of the Water, by fomenting Commotions in the Kingdom during the King's Abſence, in order to deliver the Earl out of the *Tower*.—A ſorry Excuſe indeed.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being thus removed, the King's going into *France* was no longer oppoſed in Council; and *Wolſey* was again ordered to haſten the Preparations for embarking the Army. Juſt as every Thing was ready for the Expedition, the King received an Account, that his Father-in-law had made a Truce for a Year with *Lewis*, which put *Henry* into ſome Commotion, and cauſed him to diſpatch an Ambaſſador to *Ferdinand*, to ſummon him to execute his Engagements. *Ferdinand*, in Anſwer, told the Ambaſſadors, "That the Neceſſity of his Affairs had obliged him "to accept a Truce for a Year; that he adviſed his "Son-in-law likewiſe to accept of the ſame; that the "Year following he would unite his Forces with "*England*, and vigorouſly attack the common E-"nemy."

The King had not long received this Account, before a Meſſenger from the Emperor arrived, with a Letter filled with Excuſes, and, among other Things, tells the King, "That his Affairs would not permit "him to ſend an Army into *Burgundy* this Year; but "aſſured him, that he would not fail making amends "the next Year, by bringing a much greater Army "into the Field than he firſt intended; and proteſted, "that, tho' he could not do what he firſt propoſed, "yet he would attend his Majeſty to ſerve in his Ar-"my as a Volunteer."

Now *Henry* found, that the League, which had been ſtiled *holy*, was deſerted by two *unholy* or *unfaithful* Parties, and he left alone to carry on the War; yet this did not diſcourage him; for, the King, as *Hol-*

lingſhead

lingſhead ſays, was reſolutely bent to tame the lofty *Frenchmen.*

Henry the VIIth, in Conſideration of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*'s faithful Service at the Battle of *Boſworth*, was pleaſed to make him Governor of *Calais*, and his Son, the preſent King, being well ſatisfied of the Attachment of this Knight to his Intereſt, was pleaſed to continue him in this important Poſt; and we now find him very buſy in preparing Quarters for the Troops that were ordered to embark, which he had no ſooner done but the Earl of *Shrewſbury* * ſet out ſome few Weeks before the King for *Calais*, accompanied by the Earl of *Derby*, † *Thomas Dowcray*, Lord Prior of St. *John*; the Lords *Abergavenny*, ‖ *Fitz Walter*, *Haſtings*, § *Carew* and *Cobham*; Sir *Robert Rad-*

* From this gallant Nobleman, his Grace the late Duke of *Shrewſbury* was deſcended, and the preſent Earl is the eleventh of that noble Houſe. Of this great Family was the late Biſhop *Talbot*, born at *Stourton-Caſtle* in *Staffordſhire*, and educated at *Oriel-College*, *Oxford*, who married Miſs *King*, one of the Daughters of Alderman *King*, of the City of *London*. His Son, the never to be forgotten *Charles* Lord *Talbot*, died in the Year 1736, and was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by the preſent *William* Lord *Talbot*. His Lordſhip's other Son, the Honourable *John Talbot*, Eſq; one of the *Welch* Judges, and a Member of Parliament, married *Henrietta Maria*, ſecond Daughter of the worthy and honourable Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart.

† From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Derby* is deſcended.

‖ This Nobleman was ſtiled the firſt Baron of *England*; ("and " from the noble and illuſtrious " Family of *Neville*, there ſprung " (ſays *Cambden*) ſix Earls of " *Weſtmoreland*, two Earls of " *Warwick* and *Saliſbury*, be- " ſides a Queen, a Marquis, a " Duke, five Dutcheſſes, and " ſeveral Baronets.") And from this noble Peer the preſent Right Honourable *William*, now Lord *Abergavenny*, is deſcended.

§ *Brook* tells, " that this " Lord *George Haſtings* was " Son of the great Lord *Haſtings*, " (who was beheaded in *Edward* " the Vth's Time, *See* Vol. I. " *p.* 11.) and was, the 21ſt of " *Henry* the VIIIth, created Earl " of *Huntingdon*:" And from this Nobleman *Theophilus*, now Earl of *Huntingdon*, is deſcended, who has, by his Lady *Selina Shirley*, one of the Coheirs of the late Earl of *Ferrers*, two Sons and a Daughter living.

Radcliff,* Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *George Manners*,† Sir *Thomas Alſton*,§ *John Gage*,‖ and many other gallant Knights and Eſquires, with an Army of 8000 Men, where they ſafely landed; and ſhortly after they were followed by a more conſiderable Body, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 22d of *June*, after ſeveral Marches, the Army encamped within a Mile of the ſtrong City of *Turwine*. The ſame Night Lord *Herbert* held a Council of War in his own Tent, in which the Lord *Carew* was killed by a Bullet from the Town, to the great Surprize of the Council: But his Lordſhip, on that Occaſion, obſerving to them, that this was only the Fortune of War, they reſolved immediately to beſiege the Town with Vigour.

Turwine beſieged.

In the mean time *Wolſey* having got the King's Equipages ready, and *Henry* ſettled his Affairs, and conſtituted Queen *Catherine* Regent of the Kingdom in his Abſence, on the 15th of *June* he departed from *Greenwich*, accompanied by his Queen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, the Earls of *Northumberland*

* From this Gentleman the unfortunate *James*, late Earl of *Derwentwater*, was deſcended, who left Iſſue, among others, a Daughter, who was married to a very worthy Nobleman, the late *Robert* Lord *Petre*, who is ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by Lord *Petre*, a Minor.

† This worthy Gentleman died at the Siege of *Turwine* or *Tournay*, from whom (being one of the moſt antient Families in *England*, and allied both to the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, bore firſt the Title of Lord *Roſs*) his Grace, *John* Duke of *Rutland*, is deſcended.

§ From this Knight (who particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the *Battle of the Spurs*) the Right Honourable *Walter Alſton*, Lord *Alſton* of *Forſar*, in *Scotland*, is deſcended.

‖ *John Gage*, Eſq; diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Siege of *Turwine*, and for his Valour was made Captain of the Caſtle at *Calais*, afterwards was Knighted, and had other Honours conferred on him, by King *Henry* the VIIIth, and from whom the preſent Right Honourable *Thomas*, Lord Viſcount *Gage*, Member of Parliament for *Tewkſbury*, is deſcended.

berland, *Eſſex**, *Kent*, *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Audley*†, *De la War* §, and *Curſon*; his Prime Miniſter and Almoner, *Wolſey*; *Fox*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, and other Perſons of great Eminence, both of the Clergy and Laity; and his Majeſty by eaſy Journies arrived at *Dover*, from whence, after taking ſuitable Leave of his Queen, he ſet Sail for *Calais*, where he ſafely arrived on the 30th, and was joyfully received by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the Governor, and the reſt of the Inhabitants.

The King lands in France.

The King reſided at *Calais* a ſhort Time, till his Proviſion and ſome further Forces were landed, and then ſet out with thoſe Troops for *Turwine*, where the other Part of his Army was employed in beſieging that Place: And we hope it may be excuſed, if we introduce

* The Earl of *Eſſex* was of the antient Family of *Bourchier*, Earls of *Eſſex*, and, upon the Death of this Nobleman, in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, the Family became Extinct: The Title was afterwards enjoyed by *Thomas Cromwell*, who was beheaded. Then *William Parr* was created Earl of *Eſſex*, who dying without Iſſue, the Title was conferred upon *Walter Devereux*, Viſcount *Hereford*. That Family enjoyed the Earldon many Years, but with ſome Interruption; at laſt it was conferred on *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, the 20th of *April*, the 13th of *Charles* the IId, (who was deſcended from Sir *William Capel*, Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*, in 1503, greatly oppreſſed by *Empſon* and *Dudley*, as before hinted; whoſe Son, *Giles*, was knighted at *Tournay*, as will hereafter appear.) The Heir of this preſent worthy and loyal Family is the Right Honourable *William Capel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, &c.

† This Lord was reſtored to the Title (juſt before the King ſet out for *France*) forfeited by his Father's Attainder, in *Henry* the VIIth's Time; from which Nobleman *Mervin* Lord *Audley* was deſcended, who was beheaded the 14th of *May*, 1631; and his Son *James* was afterwards reſtored to the Title by a new Creation, from whom the preſent Right Honourable *James Touchet*, Lord *Audley*, and Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, is deſcended, and has Iſſue one Son.

§ From this Nobleman *John Weſt*, Lord *de la War*, one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Honourable Order of the *Bath*, is deſcended, and has Iſſue one Son and two Daughters living.

troduce a few more Lines on this Occaſion, from that inimitable Piece before-mentioned.

Behold, in awful March and dread Array,
The long extended Squadrons ſhape their Way!
Death, in approaching terrible, imparts,
An anxious Horror to the braveſt Hearts:
Yet do their beating Breaſts demand the Strife,
And Thirſt of Glory quells the Love of Life.
No vulgar Fears can Britiſh *Minds controul,*
Heat of Revenge, and noble Pride of Soul
O'erlook the Foe, advantag'd by his Poſt,
Leſſen his Numbers, and contract his Hoſt.
Tho' Fens and Floods poſſeſs the middle Space,
That unprovok'd they would have fear'd to paſs,
No Fens or Floods can ſtop Britannia's *Bands,*
When her proud Foe rang'd on her Borders ſtands.

On the 18th of *July* his Majeſty with his Forces arrived ſafe in his Camp before *Turwine*, and immediately took a View of the City, which was ſtrongly fortified with Walls, Bulwarks, and large Ditches; the Governor's Name was *Pontremy*, who defended the Place with remarkable Bravery; his Garriſon conſiſted of 2500 Men, beſides the Inhabitants. The Walls and Ramparts were lined with large Pieces of Cannon, which very much annoyed the *Engliſh*.

The next Day his Majeſty muſtered all his Troops, which amounted in the whole to 26,000 fighting Men, (but the *French* Authors ſay they conſiſted of 50,000) and at the ſame time came News, that the *French* Army was in full March to engage the *Engliſh*.

Here the King took upon himſelf the chief Command of his Army, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on his Right Hand, and Sir *Edward Poynings* on the Left; *Charles Brandon*, Viſcount *Liſle*, commanded the Vanguard, accompanied by the Earl of *Eſſex*; *Edward Guildford*, Eſq; carried the Standard Royal; the Rear-guard was com-

commanded by *William Compton*,* Eſq; being compoſed chiefly of the Retinue of Biſhop *Fox* and Mr. *Wolſey*. After all came Sir *Anthony Oughtred*, *Ralph Fane*,† and *John Nevil*, Eſqs; with 400 Spears.

On the 27th the *French* Army came within Sight of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Forces conſiſted of 18,000 *Foot*, and 4000 Horſe, commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, *la Paliſſe*, Lord *Clermont*, the famous Chevalier *Bayard*, and other Officers of great Note. And ſoon after there was a Skirmiſh between the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Men, and a Party of the Enemy, in which the *Engliſh* got the better, and drove the *French* before them; for which Action the King publickly thanked the Earl.

His Majeſty with a becoming martial Spirit cloſely attended the Siege, where the *Engliſh* Soldiers daily gave freſh Proofs of their Courage in Sight of their Sovereign, which was ſo highly pleaſing to him, that he then beſtowed many Marks of his princely Favour both to the Officers and Soldiers.

The Emperor Maximilian *takes Pay as a Soldier under* Henry *the* VIIIth.

It was during this Siege that the Emperor arrived in the *Engliſh* Army, where he entered himſelf into the King's Service, wearing the Croſs of *St. George*, and a party-coloured Roſe; he was lodged

* This Gentleman was deſcended of a very antient Family; his Father, *Edward Compton*, Eſq; dying when he was but eleven Years of Age, he was a Ward to *Henry* the VIIth, who appointed him to wait on *Henry* then Duke of *York*; whoſe Favour he ſo far gained, that, when he aſcended the Throne, he conſtituted him Groom of his Bedchamber, and, in his ſecond Year, made him Groom of the Stole. He was a ſtout gallant Gentleman, and greatly reſpected by the King and his whole Court. From this honourable Gentleman the preſent Right Honourable *James Compton*, Earl of *Northampton*, and the preſent moſt truly worthy and honourable *Spencer Compton*, Earl of *Wilmington*, are deſcended.

† From the above Gentleman the preſent Right Honourable *John Fane*, now Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, is deſcended, who married *Mary*, the only Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Henry Cavendiſh*, a near Relation to his Grace the Duke of *Devonſhire*.

in a rich Tent, and received 100 Crowns a Day for his Pay. On the 16th of *Auguſt* a Council of War was held, at which the Emperor aſſiſted. In this Council the ſtorming of the Town, and preventing its being ſupplied with Proviſions was debated, and reſolved to prepare five Bridges to be laid over the River, for the Army to paſs, as well for the better incommoding the Town, as to hinder any Supply of Proviſions being carried into it.

The *Engliſh* paſſed over theſe Bridges the next Day, and Part of them fell in with a Convoy of Proviſions deſigned for the Town, guarded by the whole *French* Army. *Henry* immediately attacked this Convoy, ſo that a general and ſharp Engagement enſued, (and there was alſo preſent the Emperor) which ended in the *French* being put to flight, and the Duke of *Longueville*, their General taken Priſoner, with *la Paliſſe*, *Clermont*, *Bayard*, and ſeveral other Officers, beſides a great Number of common Soldiers.

The Battle of Spurs.

This Engagement was called the Battle of *Spurs*, occaſioned by the Conſternation and Diſorder which the *French* fled in, who made more Uſe of their *Spurs* than their *Spears*, their Horſemen having no more Courage to ſtand Fire here, than in their Engagement with the *Switzers* in *Italy*.

As ſoon as this Action was over, the Governor, finding himſelf diſappointed of the Proviſions he expected, delivered up the Town to the King, Upon this the Earl of *Shrewſbury* hoiſted the Banner of St. *George*, and the King entered the City in great State, finding therein Plenty of Guns and Ammunition. Next, in a Council of War, it was reſolved, to proceed from hence, in order to beſiege the City of *Tournay*, after the Demolition of the Fortifications and burning the Town of *Turwine*, the Biſhop's Palace, the Cathedral, the Churches and religious Houſes excepted; yet it was not ſo far

Turwine *taken.*

ſar demoliſhed, but the *French* ſhortly after repaired the Fortifications, and put it in a State of Defence. After the taking this City the Emperor paſſed into *Flanders*.

Some Authors ſay, that *Turwine* was deſtroyed at the Requeſt of the Emperor, who urged, that it could not be kept without great Expence, and only ſerved as a Bulwark for the Enemy. Here again we muſt touch on Mr. *Addiſon*:

* *The roving* Gaul, *to his own Bounds reſtrain'd,*
Learns to encamp within his Native Land;
But ſoon as the victorious Hoſt he ſpies,
From Hill to Hill, from Stream to Stream he flies:
Such dire Impreſſions in his Heart remain,
Of Henry's *Sword, and* Turwine's *fatal Plain:*
In vain Britannia's *mighty Chief beſets,*
Their ſhady Coverts, and obſcure Retreats,
They fly the Conqueror's approaching Fame,
That bears the Force of Armies in his Name.

From *Turwine* the Army marched to lay ſiege to *Tournay*; and, in their Rout, the King, accompanied by divers noble Attendants, was pleaſed to pay a Viſit to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, then at *Liſle*, who were received with the higheſt Honour, and feaſted in the moſt magnificent Manner; where the King and his Train ſtaid three Days, and then proceeded to join his Army, which by that Time was got before *Tournay*.

About a Mile from *Liſle* this Royal Poſſe loſt themſelves in a Miſt, not one of them being able to tell where they were. In this Perplexity a † Victualler by

* We have, indeed taken the Liberty to change here and there a proper Name, to adapt the Verſes to our Application; which, nevertheleſs ſhews, the extenſive Genius of the Poem.

† If this had not been a very honeſt Fellow, what a Booty he might have made of them.

by chance luckily came by, who conducted them ſafe to the Army, where his Majeſty was received with great Acclamations of Joy; and he immediately gave Directions for forming the Siege of *Tournay*.

Garter King at Arms, on the 21ſt of *September*, ſummoned the City to ſurrender, which they refuſed. Whereupon the Army inveſted the City, and the Emperor returned to the Camp, accompanied by the *Paulſgrave* of the *Rhine*, but ſoon after he quitted the King's Service and retired into *Germany*.

Tourray *taken.* On the 23d his Majeſty, attended by the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, paſſed over the River, and opened the Trenches before the Caſtle, whereby the City was beſieged on all Sides. — The 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th the Siege was continued; but the City, finding themſelves very much ſtreightned, and without hopes of Succour from *France*, beat a Parley; and ſome of the Citizens, being conducted to the King's Camp, offered to deliver up the Town upon certain Conditions, which being agreed to, it was ſurrendered to the *Engliſh* on the 30th of *September*. Upon its Gate was inſcribed the following Words, *Thou haſt never loſt thy Virginity*. This City contained a Cathedral, two Abbies, and ſeveral Religious Houſes, with large Dependancies. Here our brave young Monarch called into his Royal Preſence *John Bridges* *, *Simon Harcourt*†, *Edward Guildford*, *William*

* From this Gentleman his Grace the moſt noble and generous *James*, Duke of *Chandos*, is deſcended; and whoſe Heir apparent is the Right Honourable *Henry*, Marquiſs of *Carnarvon*, one of the Knights of the moſt Honourable Order of the *Bath*, and Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*.

† From this Knight, who was of a very antient Family, ſeated at *Stanton-Harcourt*, in *Oxfordſhire*, the late Sir *Philip Harcourt* was deſcended, who had one Son, named *Simon*, educated at *Oxford*, (and entered in the *Inner-Temple*) from whence he removed to *Chipping-Norton*, a Market Town in the ſame County,

William Fitz Williams, William Compton, Giles Capel, John Darnly, William Tyler, William Huſſey, Ralph Egerton,

ty, and there reſided in a ſort of Exile upon Account of ſome Difference with Sir *Philip*, his Father; but his Sire dying in the Year 1688, he appeared in his proper Station. In 1690 he was elected a *Member of Parliament* for *Abingdon*; purſued the Study of the Law, and in a ſhort time became a great Proficient in it; he was Knighted on the 1ſt of *June*, 1702; then made Sollicitor-General, and on the 23d of *April*, 1707, declared Attorney-General; *October* the 18th, 1710, choſe Lord-keeper of the Great Seal; created a *Peer* the 3d of *September*, 1712, by the Title of *Baron* of *Stanton-Harcourt*; then preferred to the Dignity of *Lord High Chancellor*; and, in the 7th Year of King *George* the Iſt, was created a *Viſcount*. But, amidſt all his Glory, he had the Misfortune to loſe his only Son, who had been married, and left one Son behind him, and was ſo very valuable, a Gentleman, that the celebrated Mr. *Pope* wrote the following Lines on him, which are engraved on his Tomb.

To this ſad Shrine, who e'er thou art, draw near;
Here lies the Friend moſt loved, the Son moſt dear;
Whoe'er knew Joy but Friendſhip might divide,
Or gave his Father Grief but when he died.
How vain is Reaſon, Eloquence how weak,
If Pope *muſt tell, what* Harcourt *cannot ſpeak.*
Oh! let thy once lov'd Friend inſcribe thy Stone.
And, with a Father's Sorrows, mix his own!

It is remarkable, that when Lord *Harcourt* reſided at *Chipping-Norton*, the late Biſhop *Talbot* lived in the ſame Town and Houſe with him, and that, when they appeared in the World, they took different Intereſts in Reſpect to the State; and yet thro' their great Merits, the firſt arrived to be Lord High Chancellor, and the latter to be Biſhop of *Durham*; and his Son, the late Lord *Talbot*, died poſſeſſed of the high Office of Chancellor. One Inſtance of both theſe high-ſtationed Noblemen's Gratitude, manifeſtly appeared, in their always being ready to ſerve, and grant the Requeſts of their old Friend, with whom they lived in great Harmony at *Chipping-Norton*, before they ſtepped into Grandeur; which happens too to be within the Compaſs of our own Knowledge.

The Lord *Harcourt* died on the 24th of *July*, 1727, and was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by the preſent Right Honourable *Simon Harcourt*, Lord Viſcount *Harcourt*, his Grandſon.

*Egerton**, *George Harvey* †, and *Edward Grevile*‖, and knighted them all; he alſo conferred the Honour of *Knight Banneret* on Sir *John Seymour* §; and then held a Council of War, wherein many Debates aroſe about the King's keeping the Town; but, *Wolſey* in particular inſiſting, that it was proper *Tournay* ſhould be kept as a Trophy of the King's Victory, and the rather becauſe *Julius Cæſar*, in his *Commentaries*, acknowledged he no where met with ſo brave a Reſiſtance as at *Tournay*. The Council approving *Wolſey*'s Advice, his Majeſty determined to keep the City, into which he made a publick Entry, and was much grander than that into *Turwine*. Here the Arch-duke *Charles*, with *Margaret* of *Savoy* his Aunt, came to return the King's Viſit, and congratulate him on his Conqueſts.

See our celebrated *Addiſon* again:

Auſtria's

* King *Henry* the VIIIth, in further Conſideration of Sir *Ralph*'s faithful Service, made him Standard-bearer of *England*, with a Fee of 100 *l. per Annum*; and from this valiant Gentleman his Grace *Scroop Egerton*, Duke of *Bridgewater* is deſcended, who married one of the Daughters and Coheirs of the famous *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, whoſe noble Exploits againſt the *French*, for the Honour of the *Britiſh* Crown, our Hiſtories are filled with: But 'tis remarkable, this noble Duke's Deſcendants, who are numerous, have glorious Anceſtors both of Father and Mother's ſide.

† The Right Honourable *George Hervey*, Earl of *Briſtol*, is deſcended from this gallant Officer. The preſent Earl has living ſeveral Sons; and the eldeſt, *George* Lord *Hervey*, was called up by Writ to the Houſe of Lords on the 12th of *June*, 1733.

‖ From this honourable Gentleman, *William* Lord *Brook* was deſcended, who had by his Lady three Sons, two of which died young, and his Lordſhip died in the 33d Year of his Age, on the 28th of *July*, 1727; and was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by the Right Honourable *Francis Grevile* Lord *Brooke*, a young Nobleman juſt come of Age, and of great Expectation.

§ From this Gentleman his Grace the preſent Duke of *Somerſet* is deſcended; his Heir apparent is the truly honourable *Algernon*, Earl of *Hertford*; whoſe Daughter married Sir *Hugh Smithſon*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Middleſex*.

Auſtria's young Prince, whoſe Imperial ſway,
Scepters and Thrones are deſtin'd to obey,
Whoſe boaſted Anceſtry ſo high extends,
That in the Pagan-gods his Lineage ends,
Comes from a far in Gratitude to own,
The great Supporter of his Grandſire's Throne:
What Tides of Glory to his Boſom ran,
Claſp'd in th' Embraces of the Godlike Man!
How were his Eyes, with pleaſing Wonder fixt,
To ſee ſuch Fire with ſo much Sweetneſs mixt:
Such eaſy Greatneſs, ſuch a Royal Port,
So turn'd and finiſh'd for the Camp or Court!

During their Reſidence here, among other publick Entertainments, there was held ſolemn Juſts and Tournaments by the King and his Companions. In theſe warlike Exerciſes *Brandon* *, Lord *Liſle*, victoriouſly anſwered all Combatants. And, though our Monarch mixt Revelling with Arms and fair Ladies, Buſineſs was not neglected; for a Treaty was concluded between his Majeſty and the Emperor, negotiated by *Wolſey*, and the Dutcheſs, the Purport of which was, — "That, though the "King had bound himſelf not to paſs into *Eng-* "*land* till the War was ended, yet he ſhould be "permitted ſo to do:—That, during the Winter, "the Emperor ſhould keep up 6000 Foot and 4000 "Horſe, as well for the Defence of *Tournay*, as of the "Arch-duke's Dominions:— That *Henry* ſhould pay "200,000 Crowns for the Maintenance of thoſe Troops "at different Payments. — That, before the 1ſt of "*June* then next, *Henry* ſhould carry the War into "*Guienne*, *Normandy*, or *Picardy*; and the Emperor "at the ſame time ſhould carry the War into ſome "Province of *France*:—That, before the 16th of *May* then

The Treaty of Tournay.

* He was Son of Sir *William Brandon*, Standard-bearer to *Henry* the VIIth, killed at the Battle of *Boſworth*.

" then next, the Emperor, the Arch-duke, the King " of *England*, Queen *Catharine*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, " ſhould meet together at *Calais*, and celebrate the " Arch-duke's Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary*, " purſuant to the Treaty concluded between the Em- " peror and the late King *Henry* the VIIth."

This Treaty being agreed to *Margaret* and her Nephew *Charles* returned to *Liſle*, where the King made another Viſit, and was received with all imaginable Reſpect; and on the 15th of *October* the Treaty was ſigned.

Upon this Monſieur *Rapin* makes the following Remark.

Rapin's *Remark on the Treaty.*

" Whatever was to be done *Henry* muſt " always find Money; *Maximilian* had " already received 100,000 Crowns of " Gold,* without having executed any of " his Engagements entred into by the Treaty of " *Mechlin*, and found Means to procure 200,000 more " by the preſent Treaty, beſides the Advantage of " razing *Turwine*, which very much annoyed his " Grandſon, the Arch-duke's Dominions; nay, it is " very probable, the Diſguſt, that made him quit the " King's Army, proceeded from his not being able " to perſuade him to promiſe him *Tournay* alſo, " when taken. This manifeſtly ſhews he looked " upon *Henry* as a Novice, eaſily to be enſnared. " Certainly *Henry*'s many falſe Steps, in the Begin- " ning of this Reign, can be only excuſed by his " little Knowledge of the Characters of the Princes " with whom he treated."

Salmon's *Reply.*

To this and ſome foregoing Paragraphs, which Monſieur *Rapin* wrote concerning *Henry* the VIIIth's Conduct at the beginning of his Reign, our honeſt Countryman,

* Here *Rapin* is miſtaken; for the Emperor had only received the firſt Payment of 35,000 Crowns.

man, Mr. *Salmon*, replies, after the following Manner. "And here *Rapin*, obſerving the Treachery and Baſeneſs of the Allies of *England*, in not executing any one Part of the Treaty, takes occaſion alſo to reflect on *Henry*'s Weakneſs, in being made the Dupe or Bubble of all the Princes in *Europe*: But, if every Prince is to be eſteemed weak and impolitick, who is deceived and over-reached by crafty faithleſs Allies, this Cenſure may be applied to the greateſt Monarchs that ever reigned. It is impoſſible always to guard againſt a Knave, even if we are endowed with the Wiſdom of the ſage *Rapin*, who aſſumes a Liberty of judging and determining the Springs and Motives of every Tranſaction in the Courts of *Europe*, for near two thouſand Years. Nor does he only laugh at *Henry* the VIIIth, for being deceived in his Allies, but declares him guilty of the moſt egregious Folly, in attacking *France* at all, while that King was engaged in the Conqueſt of *Italy*. But ſurely the *French* King's Territories were already too extenſive, neither the King of *England*, or the reſt of the Powers of *Europe*, could with any good Policy, ſit ſtill and ſee him add ſo fine a Country to his Dominions as *Italy*; or, which is much the ſame Thing, ſuffer him to gain ſo much of it as to influence the Pope and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes; eſpecially, if we conconſider, that, at that time of Day, whoever had the Pope in his Power, carried a great Stroke in the Affairs of *Europe*. It may be preſumed therefore, that King *Henry* was not at all in the wrong, in endeavouring to prevent the *French* King's fixing himſelf in *Italy*, notwithſtanding the celebrated *Rapin* has been pleaſed to pronounce, that he had nothing to do in that War, which ſeems to proceed purely from *Rapin*'s Concern to ſee his Countrymen obliged to quit *Italy*, by the Diverſion the *Engliſh* gave them on this ſide."

The *French* Biſhop of *Tournay* refuſed to ſwear Fealty to the King: So that his Majeſty was pleaſed, in Conſideration of *Wolſey*'s faithful Service, as well before as during the Campaigne, to prefer him to this Biſhoprick; but *Wolſey* met with great Oppoſition from the *French* Biſhop, the Pope ſometimes declaring for him, and at other times for *Wolſey*, juſt as the Pope's Affairs were ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful in *Italy*. However, *Wolſey* being inveſted with this See, called the Inhabitants together and tendered them the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England*, which they chearfully took.

Whilſt *Wolſey* was abroad with the King, he received a Letter from Cardinal *Baynbridge*, ſtill Ambaſſador at *Rome*, congratulating him, on the Succeſs of the King's Arms, in the following Manner:

Cardinal Baynbridge's *Letter to Mr.* Wolſey.

"Brother, Maſter Almoner, in "my beſt Manner I commend myſelf "unto you, advertiſing you, that of "Truth ſuch Honour and Nobleneſs "is here ſpoken of the King's Grace, by Reaſon of "his moſt victorious Enterprizes againſt the Ene-"mies of the Church, and his other Demeanour, "that his Glory here is eſteemed to be immortal: "It is to all his true Subjects, Lovers, and Friends, "Joy and Comfort ineſtimable, and you may well "be aſſured it is no leſs Pain and Sorrow unto our "common Enemy, who here be utterly diſcouraged. "Would our Lord Jeſus it were my Fortune conve-"niently to ſee there his Grace, you, and other "my Lords, his noble Company, in this his Jour-"ney. I truſt there liveth no Man that be more de-"ſirous thereunto than I am; but in the mean time "I ſhall heartily pray to God for the proſperous Pre-"ſervation of his Grace, you, and all his good Com-"pany, and add the beſt and moſt diligent Service "I can do here for the ſame."

Not-

Notwithſtanding the baſe Treatment *Henry* had met with from old *Ferdinand*, yet, when he found the King had been ſucceſsful in his Expedition, beyond what he deſired or expected, he ſent an Ambaſſador to his Majeſty at *Liſle*, to complement him on his Victories, offering to enter into a new Treaty, and promiſing to make amends the ſucceeding Year for what had been wanting in this. The King received this Ambaſſador civilly, and, by *Wolſey*'s Advice, anſwered, "he thanked *Ferdinand* for his Compliments, "but, in his Opinion, a new Treaty was uſeleſs, "ſince thoſe already ſubſiſting were ſufficient to do "what the Ambaſſador had propoſed in his Maſter's "Name."

The King made Lord *Montjoy* Governor of *Tournay*, and *Wolſey* made Dr. *Sampſon* his Vicar-General of the Dioceſe, and his Majeſty departed from *Liſle* the 17th of *October*, and the 24th arrived ſafe at *Richmond* Palace, after a glorious Campaigne; for ſo we cannot but call it, conſidering the ſmall Number of his Forces, and the Diſappointments he had met with from his Allies. However, *Ferdinand* as well as the reſt, now played his laſt Game this Campaigne, in reſpect to *England*, being not able the latter part of his Life to make her any more his Dupe; for ever aſſiduous *Wolſey* kept a better Look-out, for his Maſter and the Good of his Country, than to be impoſed on, either by *German*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, or *French* Tricks of State, and always repreſented them to the King in ſo lively a Manner, that he ſeldom failed of carrying his Point: But the detecting *Ferdinand* certainly drew on him Queen *Catherine*'s Reſentment, tho' for the preſent ſhe did not think proper to ſhew it.

Affairs of Scotland *and* England, 1513.

Whilſt the King was thus ſucceſsful abroad, Monſieur *de la Motte* arrived in *Scotland*, with the moſt poignant Letters from *Lewis* the XIIth, in order to ſtir up

up King *James* to make War on the *Engliſh*, in which the Queen of *France* particularly interfered, by writing to *James* in theſe Terms: "That ſhe hoped he "would for her Sake, (whom he had honoured with "the Name of his Miſtreſs in his martial Sports in "Time of Peace) march but one Mile upon the "*Engliſh* Bounds, in the time of an approaching "War againſt her Lord and Country."

The *Scotch* King was eaſily prevailed on to comply with this Miniſter's Requeſt, and, to give a Sanction to what he intended, he called his Parliament, to adviſe with them about a War with *England*; and, they being met, many oppoſed it, but in vain; others recommended it, knowing the King was bent on it; therefore it was agreed, that a Herald ſhould be ſent to King *Henry*, who was then in his Camp before *Turwine*, to require him to forbear carrying on a War againſt *France*, and to acquaint him, if he refuſed, that his Maſter ſhould be under a Neceſſity to declare War againſt him. This Herald being arrived at *Henry*'s Tent, delivered his Letters on the *French* King's Behalf, which charged our Sovereign with Breach of Faith, particularly in the Caſe of *Andrew Breton*. To which *Henry* anſwered, That he had heard no- "thing but what he had expected from his Maſter, "who was a Deſpiſer of the Laws both of God and "Man; therefore he ſhould not deſiſt from a "War, began with ſo much Juſtice, and ſo happily "carried on hitherto, for any Threats; neither did "he care for that Prince's Friendſhip, of whoſe Incon- "ſtancy he had ſo often had Experience." With this Anſwer the *Scotch* Herald returned home, after having pronounced War againſt *England*: But, before the Herald could reach *Scotland*, *James* had publiſhed a Declaration of War, importing,

Scotland *declares War againſt* Eng.

"Though Princes are not ac- "countable to any but God alone, "when Armies are prepared for "Battle,

" Battle, they look not ſo much to what may be " ſaid, as to what ought to be done. The Laws of " Nations and Nature oblige every one to defend him- " ſelf, but the Laws of Sovereignty lay greater O- " bligations upon Monarchs; they, to whom God " hath given States and Kingdoms, are bound not " only to defend them, but to relieve their People " from unjuſt Oppreſſions. The many Innovations " and Troubles raiſed upon all ſides about us, the " Wrongs our Subjects have ſuffered by the Inſolen- " cies and Arrogancies of the Counſellers of *Henry*, " King of *England*, our Brother-in-law, are well " known. Sundry of our Subjects have been taken " Priſoners, and Incurſions have been made up- " on our Borders; the Wardens of our Marſhes have " been miſerably killed; our Merchants at Sea " have been ſpoiled of their Goods, the chief Cap- " tains of our Ships put to Death, and all by the " King's own Commiſſion; and when, by our Ambaſ- " ſadors, we required Satisfaction, we received no " Juſtice worthy of him or us.

" Beſides theſe Outrages, *Henry*, King of *England*, " without any juſt Cauſe, hath invaded the Territo- " ries of the King of *France*, and hath rejected our " Requeſts on that King's Behalf: And, if our Bro- " ther of *England* ſhould extend his Conqueſts in that " Country, to what an Extremity would not *Scotland* " be reduced, in having ſo powerful and ambitious a " Neighbour? This is a good Cauſe for us at this " Time to take up Arms, which cannot be but juſt, " ſince moſt neceſſary.

" We are not ignorant, that here will be objected, " the Breach of a League between our Brother and " us. We have not broken that League, for the " Cauſes and Reaſons we have above aſſigned. A Na- " tional League is ever to be preferred before any " Perſonal; and an antient to a new Ally. The League

" between

" between *France* and *Scotland*, having continued ma-
" ny Ages, ſhould juſtly be preferred before that of
" *England*, which we, as an Ally of the Houſe of
" *England*, did contract, and which yet we are moſt
" willing to keep; for we declare and manifeſt, that,
" if our Brother ſhall leave off the Invaſion of *France*,
" and give Satisfaction for the Wrongs done our Sub-
" jects, that we will diſband our Forces, and are con-
" tent, that all Matters in Difference ſhall be amica-
" bly decided, and in the mean time conſent to a
" Truce, or Ceſſation of Arms, till a perfect and
" laſting Peace can be concluded."

The Earl of *Surry*, upon Notice of this Declaration, collected together what Forces he could, in order to oppoſe the *Scotch*.

King *James* likewiſe muſtered his Army in the *Barrow-moor* of *Edinburgh*, (a Field then delightfully ſhaded by ſeveral ſtately Oaks) where appeared many Burgeſſes, Gentlemen, Barons, and Noblemen: However, the Earl of *Anguſs* endeavoured to perſuade him from his intended Expedition, many of the Clergy did the ſame; and his Queen with Tears and Prayers begged him to give over his Enterprize, acquainting him with the frightful Viſions of her Sleep; and Mr. *Drumond* ſays, " She further
" repreſented to him, that he was to
" fight a mighty People, now turned
" inſolent by their Riches at home
" and Power abroad; that his Nobility were indi-
" gent, and might be bribed to leave him in the
" greateſt Danger; therefore what a Folly, what a
" Blindneſs is it, to make the War yours, and to
" quench the Fire in your Neighbour's Houſe of
" *France*, to kindle up one in *Scotland*! You have
" no ſuch Reaſon to aſſiſt the *French*, as you have
" to keep your Promiſes to *England*, and enjoy Peace
" at home. Tho' the *Engliſh* ſhould make a Conqueſt
" of *France*, will they take your Crown, and diſin-
" herit

Queen Margaret's *Speech to the King her Huſband.*

" herit their own Race? This is even as if the " Left-hand would cut off the Right. Should the Let- " ter of the Queen of *France* (a Woman twice mar- " ried, the firſt half in Adultery, and the laſt almoſt in " Inceſt, whom you did never, or ſcarce ever will " ſee) prove more powerful with you, than the " Cries of your little Son, and my Tears; then, if " you will go, ſuffer me to accompany you: It may " be my Countrymen will prove more kind towards " me, than they will to you, and for my Sake yield " unto a Peace. I hear the Queen, my Siſter, will " be with the Army in her Huſband's Abſence; and, " if we ſhould meet, who knows what God, by our " Means, may bring to paſs."

The King anſwered all his Queen's Complaints with a ſpeedy March, which he made over the *Twede*, attended by the greateſt Part of his Forces, and Sir *Duncan Forreſter**, Maſter of his Houſhold, not ſtaying till they were all got together; but the Remainder kept following him every Day.

The 22d of *Auguſt* he entered *England*, and encamped near the Water of *Twiſel-haugh*, where he made an Order, " That, if any of his Men ſhould be " killed by the *Engliſh* during this War, his Heir " ſhould have his Relief and Marriage;" and ſoon after aſſaulted *Norham-caſtle*, and deſtroyed it and other Places.

But, before he had been 18 Days in *England*, the Earl of *Surry*, at the Head of his Army, reached within a few Miles of the *Scotch*. His Van-guard was led by his two Sons, the Lord *Thomas*† and Sir *Edmund*

* From this Gentleman the preſent Right Honourable *William* Lord *Forreſter*, Captain of the *Lark* Man of War, is deſcended; which Truſt he has hitherto diſcharged with the greateſt Fidelity and Honour.

† From this brave Man the late Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was deſcended; and had two Sons, *Thomas* and *Francis*. Upon his Death he was firſt ſucceeded in Honour and Eſtate by the Eldeſt, and then by the Youngeſt; but, both

Howard, and under them, Sir *Richard Cholmondley*, Sir *John Booth* *, *John Harley* †, Eſq; and ſeveral others; the Rear of his Army was brought up by Sir *Edward Stanley* and Sir *William Molineux* ‖, whilſt the Lord *Dacres* commanded a Body of Horſe, kept as a Reſerve. In this Order the Army proceeded to meet the *Scotch*; but the Earl, finding the Country had been miſerably pillaged and foraged by them, it ſo exaſperated him, that he ſent a Herald with a Trumpet to give King *James* Notice, that, as he had violated his Faith and League, and entered *England* in an hoſtile Manner, he had fixt *Friday* then next to give him Battle: The King replied, by a Herald of his own, that he would not fail to abide a Battle with the Earl on the Day appointed.

The Battle of Floddon-Field.

The Earl then advanced within three Miles of *Floddon*, and, finding King *James*'s Army on a Hill, he ſent a ſecond Meſſage in Writing, ſigned not only by himſelf, but

both dying without Iſſue, the Title and Eſtate came to the preſent Right Honourable *Francis* Earl of *Effingham*, created the 8th of *December*, 1731, the 5th of *George* the IId; and at the ſame time the Earl's 3d Son was made Deputy Earl Marſhal of *England*, void by the Death of the Earl of *Suſſex*.

* This Gentleman was knighted by *Henry* the VIIth, and was killed in the Battle at *Floddon-Field*, and from this gallant Officer the preſent Right Honourable *George Booth*, Earl of *Warrington*, is deſcended.

† *John Harley*, Eſq; greatly ſignalized himſelf in the ſame Battle, who was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Eſtate in *Herefordſhire*, from whom the late *Robert Harley*, created Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer* by her late Majeſty Queen *Ann*, was deſcended; upon whoſe Death his Honour and Eſtate devolved on *Edward*, his only Son, who married the ſole Daughter and Heireſs of *John Holles*, late Duke of *Newcaſtle*, by whom he had one Daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, married, *July* the 11th, 1734, to his Grace the Duke of *Portland*; and, as his Lordſhip died without Iſſue Male, he was ſucceeded in his Honour by the Right Honourable *Edward Harley*, now Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*.

‖ Sir *William* behaved ſo well at *Floddon-Field*, that he took two Streamers which are now in the Family, from whom the Right Honourable *Carol Molineux* Viſcount *Molineux*, is deſcended.

but by his Sons, and the principal Officers of his Army, in which they challenged him to come down from his Fortifications, and fight them in the Plain (called *Mitfield*) that was between them: But the Earl, not receiving a ſatisfactory Anſwer, removed to ſuch a Situation as enabled them to intercept the Proviſions deſigned for the *Scotch* Army; which the King perceiving, he ordered his Tents to be ſet on Fire, that, under Covert of the Smoak, he might alter his Station, but ſtill kept the high Ground. The fatal Hour of the Battle approaching, the Earl traverſed the Moraſſy Bottom, and lighted upon a Bank, where the Aſcent was not very ſteep; and King *James*, apprehending it would now be for his Advantage to attack the *Engliſh*, exhorted his Men to behave like Soldiers, and immediately to join Battle.

The *Scotch* Army marched up in four Battalions, three of which entered the Fight, and the fourth kept as a Reſerve; the King led the middle or Main; the Earl of *Huntly* commanded the Right-wing of the Van, the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſe* led the other, and the third was commanded by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*. The two Armies, being thus diſpoſed, immediately engaged; the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lenox* put Sir *Edmund Howard* into ſome Confuſion, but Lord *Dacres* coming to his Aſſiſtance, they recovered the Fight; Lord *Thomas* purſued his Cauſe better, tho' the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſe* made a brave Oppoſition; the King's Battalion and that of the Earl of *Surry*'s ſuſtained a long and cruel Fight; but Sir *Edward Stanley* with his Archers forcing the *Scotch* to deſcend the Hill, in order to avoid their Showers of Arrows, gave the firſt Hopes of Victory to the *Engliſh*, which the King perceiving he redoubled his Courage: In the mean time the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Edward Stanley* defeated their Oppoſites, at which Inſtant the Lord *Dacres* came up with the Horſe, which ſo galled the *Scotch*, that

they threw themſelves into a Ring for their laſt Defence. No Man performed more than the King himſelf, who, perceiving the Wings of his Army diſtreſſed and gone, and that the Enemy began to encompaſs them, with a ſtout Reſolution encouraged his Men, "willing them to regard the Perſon of their "King, their own Honour, their valiant Anceſtors, "and this preſent Occaſion; that their Blood might "be bought dear to the *Engliſh*, and the *Scottiſh* Va-"lour recorded for ever, for this one Day's Work;" and thereupon he ruſhed among the thickeſt of his Enemies, renewed the Fight, and, piercing thro' with a ſtrong Hand, almoſt overturned the Earl's Standard; but himſelf, moſt valiantly fighting, was ſlain in the midſt of his Enemies. In this Engagement the *Scotch* loſt not only moſt of their Nobility, but 10,000 common Soldiers; and all their Ordnance, with the Culverins, called the ſeven Sifters, were taken.

James *the* IVth *killed.*

Hear the immortal Poet:

But O, my Muſe, what Numbers wilt thou find
To ſing the furious Troops in Battel join'd!
Methinks I hear the Drums tumultous ſound,
The Victors Shouts and dying Groans confound;
The dreadful Burſt of Cannon rend the Skies,
And all the Thunder of the Battel riſe.
'Twas then great Surry's *mighty Soul was prov'd,*
That, in the Shock of charging Hoſts unmov'd,
Amidſt Confuſion, Horror, and Deſpair,
Examined all the dreadful Scenes of War:
In peaceful Thought the Field of Death ſurvey'd,
To fainting Squadrons ſent the timely Aid,
Inſpir'd repuls'd Battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful Battel where to rage.

But, Oh Prince unfortunate! who can name
The Pangs of Rage, of Sorrow, and of Shame,

That

That with mixt Tumult in thy Boſom ſwell'd,
When firſt thou ſaw'ſt thy braveſt Troops repell'd.
Our Engliſh *Muſe is touch'd with gen'rous Woe,*
And in th' unhappy King forgets the Foe.

Mr. *Drummond* gives us the Names of many of thoſe who were killed in this Battle, valiantly fighting for their Prince; among whom were the King's natural Son, *Alexander*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrew*, the Biſhop of the *Iſles*, the Abbots of *Inchjefray* and *Kill-winny*, the Earls of *Crawford**, *Morton*†, *Argyle*‖, *Lenox*§, *Errol*,

* From this Peer the Brave and Right Honourable *John Lindſay*, Earl of *Crawford*, one of the Sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, is deſcended, a Nobleman who has already highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf both in the Senate and in the Field.

† From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, is deſcended in a direct Line.

‖ From this Peer his Grace *John*, Duke of *Argyle* and *Greenwich*, the Right Honourable *Archibald*, Earl of *Iſla*, (a great Civilian and Stateſman) and the Right Honourable *John Campbell*, Earl of *Brodalbin*, are deſcended. The noble Duke's Conduct in the Field, the Senate, and the Cabinet, is ſo well known it needs not our Recital; and we make no doubt, but ſome abler Pen will in due time favour the World with it.

§ The Title of Duke of *Lenox*, being ſome Years ſince extinct, was, by his Majeſty, King *Charles* the IId, conferred on *Charles*, late Duke of *Richmond*, (only Son of that Prince, by her Grace the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*) whoſe Son *Charles*, Earl of *March*, ſerved his Country in Parliament, in his Father's Life-time, for the City of *Chicheſter* and the Borough of *Newport*, and, upon his Death, ſucceeded him in his Honour and Eſtate; ſo that his Grace *Charles*, the preſent moſt noble, generous, and humane Duke of *Richmond*, has at this Day no leſs than three Dukedoms, *viz. Richmond*, *Lenox*, and *Aubigny* in *France*; the laſt of which is a very conſiderable Dutchy, and was conferred on her Grace, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, at the Inſtance and Requeſt of his Majeſty, King *Charles* the IId, and was formerly poſſeſſed by that famous Soldier *Robert Stuart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, generally called the *Scot*, (who we have often mentioned in our Firſt Volume) which was given to his Father *John Stuart* by King *Charles* the VIIth of *France*, in Conſideration of his faithful Services done the *French* Crown, in the various Wars that Kingdom had been engaged in, in different Parts of *Europe*.

Errol[1], *Caſſils*[2], *Bothwell*, *Atholl*[3], *Huntley*[4], and *Montroſe*[5]; the Lords *Elphinſton*[6], *Arreſkine*[7], *Forbes Roſs*[8], *Lovet*[9], (and no leſs than Seventy-eight Gentlemen of his Name) *Saintclaire*,[10] *Maxwel*[11], (with his three Brothers) *Semple*, *Borthwicke*,

[1] This brave Nobleman was the fourth Earl of *Errol*, and the preſent Right Honourable the Earl of *Errol* is deſcended from him.

[2] From this Nobleman the preſent Right Honourable *John Kennedy*, Earl of *Caſſils*, is deſcended.

[3] From this Nobleman his Grace *James*, Duke of *Athol*, is deſcended; a Touch of whoſe Deſcent we have already given Vol. I. p. 22.

[4] This Nobleman was the third Earl of *Huntley*, and the preſent moſt Illuſtrious *Coſmos George Gordon*, Duke of *Gordon*, is deſcended from this valiant Peer; as is alſo the Right Honourable *William Gordon*, Earl of *Aberdeen*.

[5] From this Illuſtrious Nobleman his Grace *James Graham*, Duke of *Montroſe*, is deſcended; who has happily married the Honourable the Lady *Lucy Manners*, Daughter of her Grace the Dutcheſs *Dowager* of *Rutland*.

[6] From this Peer the preſent Right Honourable *Charles* Lord *Elphinſton* is deſcended; as is alſo the Right Honourable *James Elphinſton*, Lord *Balmarino*.

[7] From this Nobleman the late unfortunate but moſt famous Earl of *Marr* was deſcended, (whoſe Exploits at *Dumblain*, and what was tranſacted at that Time, is freſh in every one's Memory) as is alſo the preſent Right Honourable *David* Earl of *Buchan*.

[8] From this Nobleman the preſent Right Honourable *William Roſs*, Lord *Roſs*, is deſcended.

[9] From this Nobleman the Right Honourable *Simon Fraſer*, Lord *Lovet*, is deſcended.

[10] From this Nobleman the preſent Right Honourable *Henry Saintclaire*, Lord *Saintclaire*, is ſcended.

[11] From this Nobleman the late unfortunate *William Maxwel*, Earl of *Nithſdale*, is deſcended who being under Sentence of Death in the Tower, the 2d of K. *George* the Iſt, the Night before his intended Execution, found Means to make his Eſcape; which being reported to his Majeſty, the humane old King replied, *I am glad of it, I wiſh him a good Journey; and ſhould not have been in the leaſt diſpleaſed, if the other two unhappy Gentlemen (the Lords* Derwentwater *and* Kingmure) *had done the like.*

wicke, George Lord *Seaton* [1], *John Hay* [2], Lord *Yester*, *Macklellan* [3], Baron of *Bomby*; *George Maſter* of *Angus*, Sir *William Douglas* [4], of *Glenbervy*, (with two hundred Gentlemen of his Name and Vaſſals) Sir *David Weems* [5], Sir *Alexander Napier*, Knight [6], Son to the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburg*; *John Carnegy* [7], *John Kennedy* [8], *Alexander Stuart*, and *Kenneth Macken-*

[1] From this Nobleman the late unhappy *George Seaton*, Earl of *Winton*, is deſcended, who was convicted of High-Treaſon in *March*, 1715; but found Means to eſcape from his Confinement in the Month of *Auguſt* following; after whom there has not been the leaſt Inquiry ſince; which, we think, in ſome Degree ſhews the commendable Lenity of our Superiors of late Years, who otherwiſe might certainly have found out his Refuge.

[2] From this Nobleman the moſt Honourable *John*, Marquis of *Twedale*, is deſcended, now Secretary of State for *North-Britain*, allowed by all to be a Nobleman of very great Accompliſhments.

[3] From this Gentleman the Right Honourable *Macklellan*, Lord *Kirkenbright*, is deſcended.

[4] From this Gentleman the noble Peers, *Charles* Duke of *Queenſbury* and *Dover*, and *Archibald*, Duke of *Douglaſs*, are deſcended; whoſe Anceſtors have, from the Beginning, ſhone in all the high Stations they have been placed in. In ſhort, the moſt noble and famous Family of the *Douglas's* have at all Times, been renowned for their Loyalty and faithful Services to their Prince and Country, whoſe Cauſe they have ever readily defended.

[5] From this Gentleman the Right Honourable *Francis Napier*, Lord *Napier*, is deſcended.

[6] From this Gentleman the preſent Right Honourable *James Carnegy*, Earl of *Southeſk*, Captain of the *Preſton* Man of War, is deſcended; and *David Carnegy*, Earl of *Northeſk* is of the ſame Family.

[7] From this Gentleman the late gallant Soldier, *Charles* Lord *Cathcart*, one of the Sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, was deſcended. He was Commander in Chief of the *Britiſh* Land-forces on Board the Fleet, ſent in 1740, under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, to the *Weſt-Indies*, to re-inforce Admiral *Vernon*; but died in his Paſſage to *Jamaica*, to the no ſmall Loſs of the whole Nation, being a Commander it had great Expectations from, and therefore his Death was generally lamented.

[8] From this Gentleman (who greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Engagement) the preſent Right Honourable *James Stuart*, Earl of *Galloway*, is deſcended.

*Mackenzie**. The Battle was fought on the 9th of *September*, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon and continued above three Hours, where many of the Nobility and Gentry were killed, beſides thoſe we have mentioned, who choſe rather to die, than out-live their gracious and religious King; and on the *Engliſh* ſide about 5000 fell, but few of Note.

George Buchanan relates, "That the King intending to make War with *England*, a certain old Man of venerable Aſpect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came to King *James*, and, leaning familiarly on his Chair, ſaid, *I am ſent to thee, O King, to give thee Warning, that thou proceedeſt not in the War thou art about; for, if thou doſt, it will be thy Ruin*; and, having ſo ſaid, he preſt through the Company, and vaniſhed out of Sight. Strict Enquiry was made after this Man, but to no Purpoſe, nor was it known what became of him: Yet the King was ſo reſolute as not to be frighted with Phantaſms, nor could any Warning divert him from purſuing what he had projected, which ended in his Death, in the 25th Year of his Reign, and the 39th of his Age."

King *James*'s Character was this: Vigorous in Body, juſt in Judgment; in puniſhing Malefactors ſevere, yet tractable and moderate when Cauſe appeared; he reſtrained Vices rather by ſhaking the Sword, than in ſtriking with it. He knew there were many Things that Princes might, yet ought not to do. He was eaſy of Acceſs, courteous in Speech, and of a free and liberal Diſpoſition; far from Oſtentation; and, though he delighted more in Fighting and

* From this Gentleman *Kenneth Mackenzie*, Earl of *Seaforth*, is deſcended, who, being in the Rebellion in the Year 1715, a Reward of 6000 *l.* was offered for taking him; but, in the Year 1726, he obtained his late Majeſty King *George* the Iſt's Pardon, and return'd home. The Right Honourable ——— *Mackenzie*, Earl of *Cromarty*, is of this Family.

and praying, than in Learning; was a great Admirer and Advancer of learned Men. The Biſhop of *Aberdeen* built, by *James*'s Liberality, the College at *Aberdeen*, and named it, *The King's College.*

" It's no Wonder, (obſerves Mr. *Drumond*, from " whom we have extracted this Character) amidſt ſo " much Worth, that ſome humane Frailty ſhould be " found: There is no Day ſo bright and fair, which " at one Moment or other looketh not pale; he " was ſomewhat wedded to his own Humour, Actions " of Raſhneſs, and Temerity; and ſuch, even tho' " they may have an happy Event, are never Praiſe-" worthy in a Prince. He was ſo infected with that " illuſtrious Crime, Deſire of Fame, which the Am-" bitious take for Virtue, that he preferred it to his " Life, and the Peace of his Subjects.

" Though Virtue is ſometimes unfortunate, yet " it is ever in high Eſteem in the Memory of Men: " Such Love for him remained in the Hearts of " his People after his Death, that the like was not " of any King before him. In ſhort, he ſerves for " an Example of the Frailty of great Men on the " Theatre of this World, and of the Inconſtancy of all " ſublunary Things."

All *Hiſtorians* agree, that *James* the IVth was one of the beſt Princes the *Scotch* loſt in the whole Succeſſion of their Kings. His Body, it ſeems, being incloſed in Lead, for a good while remained unburied, which King *Henry* ſaid was but a due Puniſhment for one who had perjuriouſly broken his League.

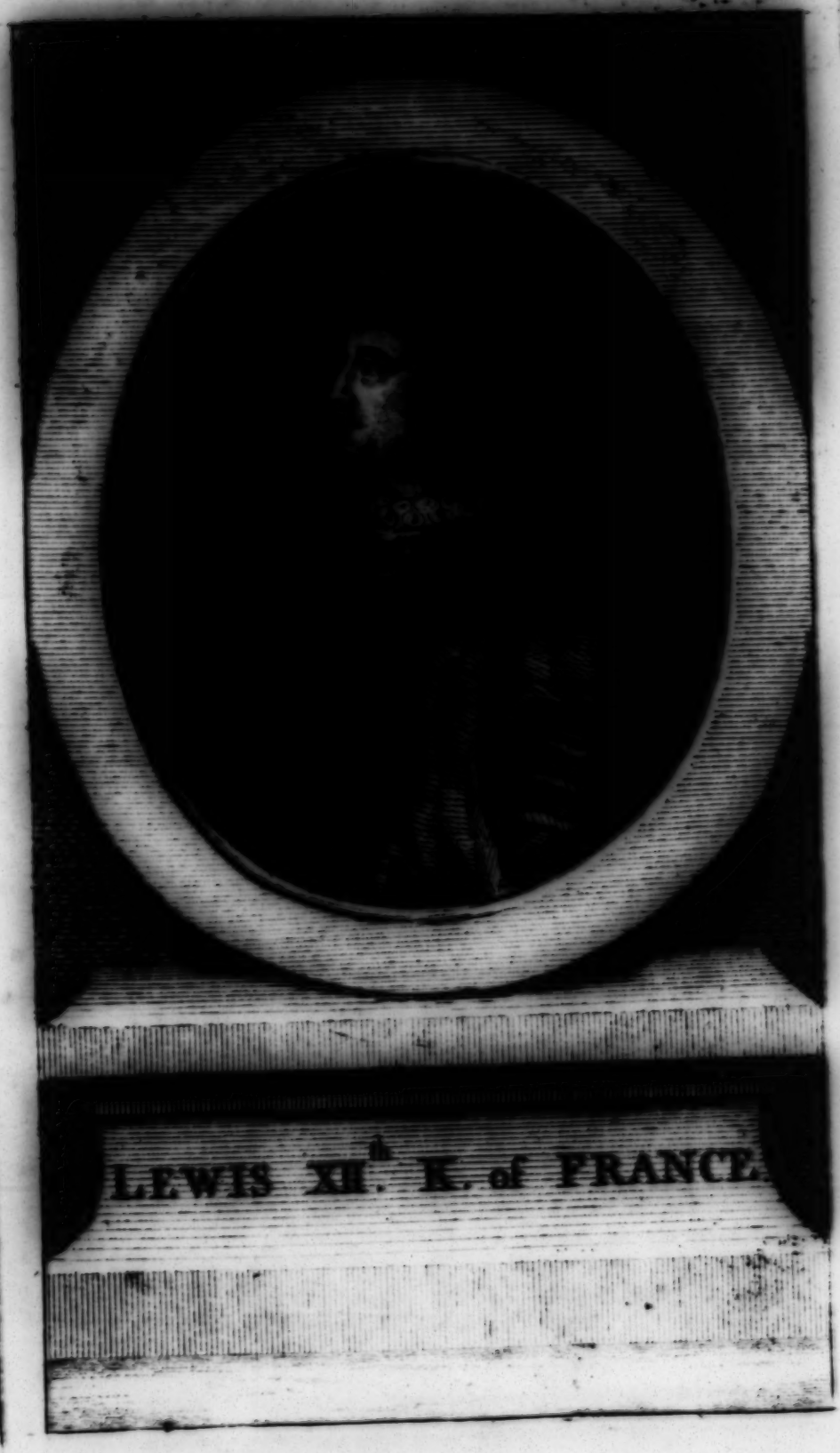
At laſt the Body was interred; but, as *James* died under the Sentence of Excommunication before the Rites of Chriſtian Burial could be performed, it was neceſſary a Diſpenſation ſhould be obtained from *Rome*, which *Leo* the Xth granted in the firſt Year of his Pontificate, and in the Letter he wrote to King

Henry, he ſtates how *James* became excommunicated; and then ſays, "He was charitably perſuaded, that "King *James* in his laſt Moments, exerciſed ſuch ſuit-"able Acts of Contrition, as the Circumſtances of the "Time would admit, and therefore granted a Licence "for his Body to be buried with ſuch funeral Rites and "Solemnities as his Majeſty ſhould hold requiſite; "and that the Biſhop of *London*, or any other Biſhop, "might abſolve *James* before the Body was interred, "provided *Henry*, in the Name of the deceaſed King, "ſhould himſelf undergo ſome convenient Penance;" which was accordingly done.

Some *Scotch* Writers nevertheleſs will have it, that the King was not killed in the Battle, though they admit he was never heard of afterwards. On the other hand its affirmed, that the King's Body was found by the Lord *Dacres*, who ſhewed him to Sir *William Scott*, King *James*'s Chancellor, and to Sir *John Forman*, who knew him at firſt Sight: And, *Stow* ſays expreſly, "That *James*'s Body was bu-"ried at *Weſt-ſhene*, a Monaſtery near *Richmond* in "*Surry*, founded by *Henry* the Vth, where he had "ſeen it, after the Diſſolution of that Monaſtery, "wrapped in Lead, and thrown into an old Room "among ſome Lumber and Rubbiſh." If this Account be true, the Body of this heroick King met with very unworthy Treatment from the Perſon who then poſſeſſed this Monaſtery *.

Lewis

* The vulgar Opinion of the People at *Richmond* at this Day is, that, upon the Diſſolution of the Religious Houſes, the Body of this Prince was dug up, and found wrapped in Lead; and that it was afterwards depoſited over a large Gateway, belonging to the Monaſtery, where it now remains, and their Reaſon for it is, that the preſent Poſſeſſor of the Monaſtery Sir *John Buckworth*, Bart. will neither ſuffer the Gateway to be pulled down, or any Perſon to go upon it, in order to prevent this unhappy Prince's Aſhes being a ſecond time diſturbed.



LEWIS XII.th K. of FRANCE

Lewis the XIIth's Caſe was now ſo deplorable he was obliged to petition his Holineſs to take pity on an unfortunate Son, who had ſeen the Error of his Way, and ſupplicated to be taken into the Boſom of the Church.

Lewis *the* XIIth *ſubmits to the Pope.*

Leo the Xth readily granted his humble Petition, and only required him to diſſolve the Council of *Piſa*, and ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to make a proper Submiſſion in the *Lateran* Council, and to receive his Holineſs's Abſolution. This they ſolemnly did in the 9th Seſſion of that Council, held about the End of *December*, when the Pope was pleaſed to abſolve *Lewis* and his People from the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures before-mentioned.

Upon this the Pope ſent a Letter to King *Henry*, remonſtrating, "as his Ma- "jeſty had taken up Arms for the "Defence of the Church and the Holy See, and ob- "tained the End propoſed, he now hoped he would "lay down his Arms, ſince the Prince, who had "oppreſſed the Church, was become ſenſible of his "Error, had made Satisfaction, and was again received "into his Boſom.

Leo *the* Xth *writes to* Henry *the* VIIIth.

Nothing could be more pleaſing to King *Henry* and his Prime Miniſter, *Wolſey*, than this Letter, which gave the King a fair Opportunity to diſengage himſelf from a War he began to be tired of, on account of the Diſingenuouſneſs of his Allies.

Henry, being gratefully ſenſible of the Services his faithful Subjects had done him, both at Home and Abroad, during this Campaign, was pleaſed to reward them with various Promotions; particularly he wrote to Sir *Richard Cholmondley*, and other valiant Gentlemen, to thank them for their good Conduct in the Engagement at *Floddon-field:* That to Sir *Richard* was as follows.

The King ſhews great Favours to ſeveral of his Subjects.

His Majeſty's Letter to Sir Richard Cholmondley.*

" Truſty and well-beloved, We " greet you well, and underſtand, as " well by the Report of our Right " truſty Couſin and Counſeller, the " Earl of *Surry*, and others, what acceptable Service " you, among others, lately did unto us, by your vali- " ant Towardneſs in aſſiſting of our ſaid Couſin againſt " our great Enemy, the late King of *Scots*; and how " courageouſly you, as a very hearty loving Subject, " acquitted yourſelf for the Overthrow of the ſaid " late King, and diſtreſſed his Malice and Power, to " our great Honour and the advancing of your no " little Fame and Praiſe; for which we have good " Cauſe to favour and thank you, and ſo we full " heartily do; and aſſured may you be, that We " ſhall in ſuch effectual wiſe remember your ſaid Ser- " vice, in any your reaſonable Purſuits, as you ſhall " have Cauſe to think the ſame right well employed, " to your Comfort and Weal hereafter. Given under " our Signet, at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 27th of " *November*."

Soon after his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute Sir *Richard* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; and created *Charles Brandon*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Duke of *Suffolk*, the *Lord Herbert*, Earl of *Worceſter* †, the Earl

* From this Gentleman the preſent Right Hon. *George* Earl of *Cholmondley* is deſcended; who married the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, and has had three Sons by his Lady, (of whom *George* Lord *Malpas*, and *Robert* are now living, beſides a Daughter) who died in the Year 1732.

† From this brave General, his Grace *Henry Somerſet Scudamore*, Duke of *Beaufort*; and the Right Hon. *William Herbert*, Marquis of *Powis*, are deſcended: And of this Family is alſo the Right Honourable *Henry Herbert*, the preſent worthy and magnanimous Earl of *Pembroke*, whoſe great Merit and Qualifications have cauſed him to be commiſſioned, among others not leſs worthy, with the high Truſt of *Lord Juſtice* in his Majeſty's Abſence, more than once; and who

Earl of *Surry*, Duke of *Norfolk**, and the Lord *Thomas Howard**, his Son, Earl of *Surry*, with an Augmentation of the *Scotch* Arms.

Strype obſerves, that *Wolſey* at this time endeavoured to convince his Maſter of what Advantage Trade was to his People, which made the King encourage it, by giving Letters of ſafe Conduct to his Merchants for their Ships; and when they ſuſtained any Damages, by foreign Princes or States, the King inſtantly required Satisfaction by his Ambaſſadors, one Inſtance of which we ſhall here mention.

His Majeſty had granted a very extraordinary Letter of Marque to *Thomas Barnaby*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, for himſelf, Servants, Factors, Attorneys, Denizens, or Strangers to traffick in all manner of Commodities in all Places and at all Times, during a certain Term of Years. And *Margaret* of *Savoy* had at this Juncture prohibited Bay-ſalt and Wine,

who is allowed by all to be a General of equal Courage and Merit with any of his moſt gallant Predeceſſors.

* The Duke was Son of *John Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, by his firſt Wife, *Catherine*, Daughter of *William* Lord *Molins*. Duke *John* had done King *Edward* the IVth great Services in his Wars in *France*, for which he ſummoned him to his Parliament in Quality of a Baron of his Kingdom, *Anno* 1471. In the firſt Year of King *Rich.* the IIId he was conſtituted Earl-marſhal of *England*, and preferred to the Dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*. To this Title he had a Right as a Deſcendant from the Female Heirs of *Mowberry* and *Segrave*, Dukes of *Norfolk*, who derived their Pedigree from *Thomas Brotherton*, (Son of K. *Edward* the Iſt) Duke of *Norfolk*. Duke *John* did not long enjoy his Honours and vaſt Eſtate; for, eſpouſing the Intereſt of *Richard* the IIId (out of Gratitude for the many Favours he had conferred on him) and heading the Army in *Boſworth-field*, he was there killed. He was buried at *Thetford*, and attainted by Parliament in the firſt Year of *Henry* the VIIth, as before-obſerved, *Vol.* I. *page* 30, this Duke was made Earl of *Surry*, much about the Time his Father was created Duke of *Norfolk*, but he had the good Fortune to ſurvive the Battle at *Boſworth*, and afterwards obtained the different Preferments before and now related; from whom the preſent moſt illuſtrious Duke of *Norfolk* is deſcended.

Wine, of the Growth of *France*, from being brought into *Flanders*, upon Pain of forfeiting the ſame, which interfering with the King's Licence to *Barnaby*, who traded chiefly in *French* Goods, the King ſent a Letter to Dr. *Knight*, his Ambaſſador at the Dutcheſs's Court, to ſollicit her to permit *Barnaby* to diſpoſe of what Goods he had brought into her Territories; and was ſo zealous to ſerve this Merchant, that he ſent Sir *John Wallop* to aſſiſt *Knight* in the Solicitation, in order to obtain what was deſired and which they at laſt effected.

Wolſey interpoſing ſo early on Behalf of the Trading Part of his Majeſty's Subjects, they conceived great hopes, that the Affairs of State would be well conducted under his Adminiſtration, which gained him the general Eſteem of the People.

The Victories both in *France* and at *Floddon-field* were ſo ſeaſonable, that Fortune ſeemed to offer herſelf to *Henry*'s Embraces, and raiſed in all Men great Expectations of his future Glory and Succeſs. In ſhort his Affairs were in ſo good a Situation, that all the neighbouring Princes both courted and dreaded him; which made the Concluſion of the Year 1513 very agreeable.

The Proceedings of the fourth Parliament. 1514.

THE King having ordered the Parliament to aſſemble, on the 23d of *January* they met, when, in a ſhort Speech, he laid before them the Succeſſes of his Arms the laſt Year, both againſt the *French* and the *Scotch*, which was extremely well received by both Houſes; but we do not find that the King aſked any further Supplies.

In this Parliament, *Margaret*, Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, late Wife of *Richard de la Pole*, Knt. petitioned, that, ſince, by Act of Parliament, the 19th of

of *Henry* the VIIth, *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, was declared a Traytor, and his Lands forfeited, it would pleaſe the King ſhe might inherit, as being Siſter and next of Blood, his State and Dignity, by being ſtiled Counteſs of *Sarum*, which was granted. The Parliament paſſed theſe Laws*, and then were diſſolved.

Soon after the Riſing of the Parliament a Commotion happened in *London* on the following Occaſion: The People of *Iſlington*, *Hockſton*, and *Shoreditch* had ſo incloſed their Grounds, that it debarred the Citizens from their accuſtomed Freedom of Walking and Exerciſes, the Apprentices thereupon roſe and ſoon levelled thoſe Hedges and Ditches, being excited thereto by a *Turner*, running through the Streets in a Fool's Coat, crying out for Shovels and Spades; for which Sir *George Monox*, the Lord Mayor, was ſent for to attend Biſhop *Wolſey*, who gently reprimanded his Lordſhip, for not taking care to preſerve the Peace of the City, and diſmiſſed him with an Exhortation to that End, which had the deſired Effect.

Spiritual Court Proceedings.

About this time a Matter happened that made a great Noiſe, Dr. *Horſey*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *London*, had convened one *John Hun*, of *London*, before him, on Suſpicion of *Hereſy*, and, by Virtue of his Authority, committed him to the *Lollards* Tower, which was a Priſon of the Biſhop's at St. *Paul*'s. A Miſunderſtanding had ſubſiſted ſome time, between this Doctor *Horſey* and *Hun*, on the ſcore of a Premunire

* I. To direct the Length and Breadth of White Straits made in *Devonſhire*, and the Mark of the Maker to be fixed.

II. To direct what Cloths may be tranſported abroad unſhorn, and what not.

III. To puniſh Perſons who uſe Deceits in Worſteds, by drying them, *&c.*

IV. To direct who ſhall be returned upon Juries in *London*.

V. To diſcharge Surgeons from ſerving as Conſtables, bearing of Armour, or being put upon Watches or Inqueſts, upon Account of their daily and nightly Attendance on their Patients.

nire brought againſt the Doctor at *Hun*'s Suit, the Occaſion of which, as *Fox* relates, was this: A Clergyman claimed the Bearing-ſheet of *Hun*'s deceaſed Child, as a Mortuary, which *Hun* refuſing to give, he was ſued in the Spiritual Court. *Hun*'s Counſel on this adviſed him to bring a *Premunire* againſt the Clerk, for ſuing the King's Subjects in a foreign Court. That the Biſhop's Court was foreign he pretended to prove, becauſe the Court ſat by Authority from the Legate: But *Fox* ſeems here to be doubly miſtaken; for, 1*ſt*, the Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Court *Hun* was ſued, had no legatine Commiſſion, but acted upon his ordinary Juriſdiction: Beſides, here were no Bulls or Inſtruments procured from the Pope, or any thing made uſe of in the Name of the See of *Rome*. 2*dly*, If, by a Stretch of Conſtruction, the Biſhop of *London* ſhould be ſaid to be an Abettor of a foreign Juriſdiction, becauſe he did not formally diſclaim the Legatine Authority, it may be obſerved, that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* have been all along ſtiled the Pope's Legate, from the Reign of *Henry* the Iſt down to the Reformation, and yet their Juriſdiction was never diſputed.

Whilſt this Suit was depending *Hun* was queſtioned for Hereſy and impriſoned, who being afterwards found dead in his Chamber, Dr. *Horſey* and the Keeper affirmed he had hanged himſelf; but their Relation being doubted the Coroner's Inqueſt ſat on the Body, and, acquitting him of being *Felo-de-ſe*, laid the Murder on the Officers that had the Charge of the Priſon.

During the time the Inqueſt was thus proceeding the Biſhop began a new Proceſs againſt *Hun*, for other Points of Hereſy. The Articles againſt him are ſaid to be deduced out of *Wickliff*'s Preface to the Bible, which, being found in *Hun*'s Poſſeſſion, paſſed for Evidence; ſo that he was pronounced a Heretick, and his Body

Body was delivered to the Sheriff, and burnt in *Smithfield*.

Fox makes a tragical Repreſentation of this Matter, and, if his Narrative be true, the Proceedings were very extraordinary: But, to give the Reader a more diſtinct View of his Caſe, we here give the Articles themſelves as they ſtand in *Fox*.

1*ſt*, "He is charged to have taught, publiſhed, "and obſtinately defended, that the Clergy had no "Right to demand *Tythes*, and that the Prieſts heed no-"thing but their own Covetouſneſs.

2*dly*, "That he maintained and publiſhed, that "Biſhops and Prieſts are the Scribes and Phariſees "that condemned, and crucified Chriſt.

3*dly*, "That he taught and maintained, that "Biſhops and Prieſts preach one way and live another, "that they mind no Part of their Function, that Ava-"rice and Rapine was their Buſineſs, that they took "every thing and gave nothing."

The 4th Article objected to him was, his Defence of the Opinion of *Joan Baker*.

Hun, in his Anſwer, denied the Objections charged on him, as they are couched in the Articles: However, he owned his having ſpoken Words from which might be drawn ſuch a Conſtruction; for this he profeſſed himſelf ſorry, begged God's Pardon, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhop's Correction.

As to the Depoſitions concerning *Hun*'s Murder, *Fox* gives an Account of the Biſhop's Proceedings upon the dead Body, that the Cauſe was afterwards brought before the Parliament, and that the King ordered *Hun*'s Goods to be reſtored: For theſe Tranſactions *Fox* vouches, that the Records of the Proceedings were then in the Hands of *Hun*'s Grandſon: But the famous Sir *Thomas More* relates the Matter quite different from *Fox*, who is allowed to be a Gentleman of Character, lived in *London* when the Caſe happened, and anſwered a Pamplet, called, *The*

Supplication of Beggars, wherein he takes off the Imputation of Guilt, charged on Dr. *Horſey* and the Biſhop of *London*.

For, the Author of the ſaid Pamphlet advancing, that Dr. *Horſey* purchaſed the King's Pardon for murdering of *Hun*, Sir *Thomas More* poſitively denies it, and ſays, "There was never any Attempt made to "procure a Pardon, but that, after a conſiderable "time, when the Matter had been examined to the "Bottom, the King was ſatisfied, that Dr. *Horſey*, "and thoſe brought into Trouble with him, were "wrongfully charged with the Murder. Upon this, "when they were arraigned upon an Indictment, "and pleaded Not Guilty, he ordered the Attorney-"general to allow their Plea, and diſcharge them."

But, that *Wolſey* might come in for a ſhare of the Reflections thrown on thoſe concerned in carrying on the Proſecution againſt *Hun*, the learned Biſhop *Burnet*, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, tells us, "That *Hun* "having been ſued in the Spiritual Court, for a "Mortuary which he refuſed to pay, and in Revenge "proſecuted the Clerk who brought that Action a-"gainſt him in a Premunire, for bringing the King's "Subjects before a Foreign Court, the Spiritual Court "ſitting by Authority from the Legate: This touch-"ed the Clergy ſo to the quick, that they uſed all "the Arts they could to faſten Hereſy on him." His Relation of *Hun*'s Death we ſhall not repeat, but purſue the Proſecutions againſt thoſe charged with with it: "The Biſhop of *London* (ſays *Burnet*) find-"ing that the Inqueſt went on (againſt *Horſey* and "others touching *Hun*'s Death) and the whole Mat-"ter diſcovered, uſed all poſſible Endeavours to ſtop "the Proceedings; and they were often brought be-"fore the King's Council, where it was pretended, "that it proceeded from Malice and Hereſy; and the "*Cardinal* laboured to procure an Order to forbid "their going any further; but the Thing was both

"ſo

" ſo foul, and ſo evident, that it could not be done."
To this Dr. *Fiddes* replies: " I think it incumbent on
" me, in Regard to Truth and Equity, and to a ſe-
" cret Inſinuation, as the Caſe is here repreſented,
" to *Wolſey*'s Diſadvantage, to make ſome tranſient
" Remarks on theſe ſeveral Particulars; for the very
" Matter of Fact, which is the Foundation of the
" Story, is wrong ſtated.

" I. *Hun* did not ſue the Clerk, who demanded
" a Mortuary for bringing him before a Foreign Court,
" but for citing him into the Spiritual Court, for a
" Matter, as he pleaded, that was only triable at
" Common Law.

" II. That the Court, wherein *Hun* was proſecuted,
" did not ſit by Authority from the Legate, the Per-
" ſon againſt whom this ſeemed to be deſigned, if the
" Biſhop had any intelligible Meaning in it, was not
" then Legate, or ſo much as Cardinal, or Archbiſhop.

" III. That *Hun*'s Suit could not touch the Clergy
" to the Quick, as his Lordſhip repreſents, becauſe
" it was allowed by the Judges, at the Common
" Law, that the Matter in Diſpute was properly cog-
" nizable in the Spiritual Court.

" IV. That it was impoſſible *Wolſey*, as Cardinal,
" could labour to ſtop their going farther into the En-
" quiry, in Relation to *Hun*'s Death; for then he had
" not obtained that Dignity; and, as to the Spiritual
" Court, where *Hun* was proſecuted, the Chancellor
" acted in Vertue of the Biſhop of *London*'s ordinary
" Juriſdiction, without any Bulls, Inſtruments, or
" other Proceſs obtained from *Rome*.

" V. As to what the learned Biſhop ſays of the
" *Foulneſs* and *Evidence* of the *Murder*, if we are to
" believe what Sir *Thomas More* has related, it ſeems
" quite otherwiſe."

To ſum up this Matter in a few Words, the Biſhop of *London* aſſerted his Chancellor's Innocence to the laſt; and it cannot be preſumed that the Biſhop,

from the Character he bore in the World, would have ſo done, or any way countenanced his Chancellor, had he believed that *Hun* was murdered in the Manner *Fox* repreſented it.

Godwin, a *Proteſtant* Divine of the Church of *England*, tells us, "That *Richard Fitz James*, Dr. "of Law, was a Gentleman of an antient Houſe, "learned and very virtuous. He was firſt Biſhop "of *Rocheſter*, in the Year 1496; tranſlated from "thence to *Chicheſter*, in the Year 1504; and from "*Chicheſter* to *London*, *Auguſt* the 2d, 1506. This "Prelate beſtowed a great deal of Money in repair-"ing and beautifying St. *Mary*'s Church at *Oxford*, "and alſo in adorning and beautifying the Cathedral "Church of St. *Paul*'s, *London*; and at his Death "was buried between the two Pillars next the Steeple, "on the North Side of the Body of the Church, un-"der a Marble Stone, over which was built a kind "of a Timber Chapel, which was conſumed by "Fire in the Year 1561.

Wolſey made Biſhop of Lincoln.

Whilſt theſe Matters were tranſacting Dr. *Smith*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, died; whereupon his Majeſty immediately beſtowed this Biſhoprick on his Prime Miniſter, *Wolſey*, who was no ſooner named to ſucceed this Biſhop, but he received the Compliments of the Prelates, Nobles, and Gentry, and every one at this Time ſeemed to vie with each other who ſhould ſhew him the greateſt Reſpect; on the 26th of *March* he was conſecrated Biſhop thereof with great Pomp and Ceremony.

The two Univerſities ſend their Compliments to him.

The two Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* ſent ſolemn Deputations to *London*, to compliment Biſhop *Wolſey* upon his Promotion, which he received with great Affection and Reſpect; and aſſured the Gentlemen who attended him, that he would uſe his beſt Endeavours to ſerve both Univerſities, and with other kind Expreſſions diſmiſſed

ſed them. Soon after this the Univerſity of *Cambridge* ſent Biſhop *Wolſey* an Invitation, (by Letter conveyed by proper Deputies) "upon Account of "his many and generous Qualities, which they ele-"gantly celebrate, to chuſe him their Chancellor, and "earneſtly requeſt him to accept that Office, tho' infe-"rior to his high Deſerts;"* which *Wolſey* humbly declined, and acquaints them, "That nothing could "be more grateful or engaging to him, than ſuch a "ſignal Teſtimony of their Favour, which he had "neither ſought after, or done any thing to merit; "but he was ſo ſenſible of the great Honour de-"ſigned to him, that he would make it his Endea-"vour to ſhew his Gratitude, by doing the Uni-"verſity in General, and the ſeveral Members, of it "the beſt Services in his Power; excuſed himſelf "for not writing in ſo copious a Manner as he pro-"poſed, becauſe of the Multiplicity of publick Af-"fairs wherewith he was taken up; and therefore "refers them to the Magiſtrates, deputed from the "Univerſity, to wait on him for a more particular "Anſwer."†

His Majeſty at this time was pleaſed by a ſpecial Grant, to give to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John* Abbot of St. *Edmund's-Bury*, or to either of them, and their Aſſigns, the firſt and then next Advow-ſon, Collation, Donation, or free Diſpoſal of the Abbey or Monaſtery of St. *Saviour's Bermondſey*, in the

* This ſhews plainly, that the Univerſity of *Cambridge* had then, and we believe have at this time, a much higher Opinion of *Wolſey*'s Merit, than what Doctor *Knight*, one of their preſent Members, has, or would ſeem to have, by his raking together ſuch a Heap of Obliquy and Reproach againſt him in his *Life* of *Eraſmus*. See our Firſt Vol. p. 339, &c.

† Does any thing herein appear of that Pride, Arrogance, and Covetouſneſs his Enemies generally charge him with? Here, on the contrary, is Courteſy, Modeſty, and Generoſity; and on the whole, it plainly appears, Biſhop *Wolſey* was ſo far from engroſſing all Places, that he refuſed one that Perſons of the greateſt Fortune and Diſtinction have thought highly worth their Acceptance.

the County of *Surry*, when the ſame ſhould become vacant for once only.

The high Favour that *Wolſey* was now in with the King gave much Pleaſure to Biſhop *Fox*, who expreſſed it by ſending him particular Complements on his new Promotions; on the other hand, *Wolſey* took all Opportunities of ſhewing his *Gratitude* to ſo great a Patron, and continued ſtill to adviſe with him upon all Affairs of Importance: So that their Friendſhip, inſtead of diminiſhing, as Monſ. *Rapin* and Dr. *Knight* would have it, every day encreaſed.

The Manner of Filling of vacant Sees.

" When any See was vacant, (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) " the King recommended " one to the Pope, upon which the " Bulls were expedited at *Rome*, and " by a Warrant was conſecrated and inveſted in the " Spiritualities of the See."

To this *Harmer* anſwers, " The Hiſtorian here " undertaketh to deſcribe the Way and Proceſs to " make Biſhops in *England*, received for above three " hundred Years before the *Reformation*; but, in his " Deſcription of it, he hath committed ſeveral Miſ- " takes: For, *Firſt*, this Method was not much uſed in " *England*, until within leſs than 300 Years before " the *Reformation*. *Secondly*, It was even then not " always uſed, for ſometimes, even within that Term, " Biſhops were elected, confirmed, and conſecrated, " without conſulting the Pope in the leaſt, or ex- " pecting any Bulls from him. *Thirdly*, Even after " the Method of Expediting Papal Bulls, and proceed- " ing in vertue of them was fully ſettled, the King " did not always recommend, nor did the Pope al- " ways grant his Bulls to the Perſon recommended; " but ſometimes the Pope ſtaid not for his Recom- " mendation, but granted his Bulls to whom he " thought fit; or, after he had received the King's " Letters, granted his Bulls to ſome other whom " himſelf liked better, or whom the Archbiſhop, or

" ſome

" ſome powerful Nobleman, had recommended. In-
" deed, for about 60 Years before the *Reforma-*
" *tion*, our Kings had got the better of the Popes
" in this Matter, and drawn the Diſpoſition of Bi-
" ſhopricks to themſelves, yet not altogether, (for
" the Popes, by their Authority, diſpoſed of *Wor-*
" *ceſter*, at leaſt three times together within that
" Term.) And after all, *Fourthly*, the Biſhops were
" not firſt conſecrated, and then inveſted with the
" Spiritualities of the See; but the Practice was all
" along contrary; for they received the Spiritualities
" of their See immediately upon Confirmation, and
" the Sentence of their Confirmation was ever ac-
" companied with a Decree for their being put in
" Poſſeſſion of their Spiritualities, and a Mandate di-
" rected to the Guardian of the Spiritualities, to de-
" liver it up to them."

Mr. *Fulman* hath alſo queſtioned the Date of the Reſtitution of the Temporalities of *Lincoln*, aſſigned by Biſhop *Burnet* to be the 4th of *March*, 5 *Hen.* VIII. becauſe *Wolſey* was not conſecrated till the 26th of *March*. To this it was anſwered, " That it might be to give him a Right to the " meſne Profits, by reſtoring the Temporalites before " *Lady-day*, though he was not conſecrated till the " 26th of *March*;" but *Anthony Harmer*, who has examined both *Fulman*, and the Biſhop's Relation of this Matter, avers, " He knows not whether the " Anſwer ſubjoined belongs to Mr. *Fulman* or Biſhop " *Burnet*; but it proves, That neither of them knew " the true State of this Matter; for, whereas the " Reſtitution of the Temporalities of *Lincoln* to *Wol-* " *ſey*, before his Conſecration, is here repreſented, if " true, to be an extraordinary Caſe, owing to his " great Favour and Power at Court; the Truth is, " that at that Time, and for ſeveral Ages before, " Biſhops received their Temporalities from the " King immediately after their Confirmations, and

" even

" even before Conſecration; and at their Confirma-
" tion did of courſe take out a Writ from the Arch-
" biſhop to the King, ſignifying their Confirmation;
" and in Virtue of it deſiring Reſtitution of their
" Temporalities to be granted to them. *Wolſey* there-
" fore, being promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*
" by the Pope, on the 6th of *February*, no wonder,
" as ſoon as his Bulls came into *England*, and had
" been allowed by the Archbiſhop, he ſhould im-
" mediately receive his Temporalities before Conſe-
" cration." Our great Hiſtorian, *Burnet*, confeſſes,
" That he is ignorant when Biſhops firſt received
" their Temporalities from the King, and renounced
" the Benefit of the Papal Bulls in relation to them,
" or any thing to be deviſed from the See of *Rome*,
" and leaves it to the moſt Learned in the Law to
" diſcover that Matter." To this *Harmer* replies,
" That he does not pretend to be learned in the
" Law, yet he ſaith, the ſmall Knowledge he hath,
" in the Antiquities of this Country, enables him to
" diſcover this, if it is to be called a Diſcovery,
" that this Cuſtom begun in the Year 1272, when
" a like Renunciation was required of *Robert Kil-*
" *wardby*, collated by the Pope to the Archbiſhoprick
" of *Canterbury*; and ſhortly after, the Papal Bulls of
" Proviſion increaſing, the Matter was fully ſettled
" about the Year 1300."

Doctor Smith's *Riſe and Character.*

Dr. *William Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was brought up at *Cambridge*, and choſen Fellow of *Pembroke-hall* in that Univerſity; firſt conſecrated Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* in the Year 1492. Whilſt he was Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, he founded an Hoſpital for a Maſter, two Prieſts, and ten poor Men; alſo a Free-ſchool for the Education of poor Children, and prevailed on *Henry* the VIIth to preſent to this School an Hoſpital, called *Donhall*, with the Lands belonging to it. He ſettled ten Pounds a Year in Land

Land towards the Maintenance of a School-maſter, where he was born. He was a Man of great Eminence; and, after he had ornamented the See of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* four Years, was tranſlated to *Lincoln* in the Year 1495. Five Years he was Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and founded the noble College of *Brazennoſe*, but lived not to finiſh it in the Manner he intended. He was the firſt *Preſident* of *Wales*, and governed that Country with great Reputation, from the 17th of *Henry* the VIIth to the Time of his Death; and, having a great Affection for Biſhop *Wolſey*, who ſucceeded him, he bequeathed to him ſeveral valuable Houſhold Goods and Effects. He lies buried in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, leaving behind him the Character of a good Biſhop, a moſt ſincere Friend, and generous Benefactor.

Further Account of Eraſmus.

Eraſmus had been ſome time in *England*, and was at *Cambridge* when *Wolſey* was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*; whereupon he repaired to *London* to pay his Reſpects to him, and was extreamly well received by the Biſhop, who then gave *Eraſmus* hopes of the firſt vacant Canonry in *Tournay*, and, as an Encouragement for him to continue his Studies, aſſigned him a Penſion. After this gracious Reception *Eraſmus* returned to *Cambridge*, where, it ſeems, he was *Greek* Profeſſor, and had a Salary allotted him by the Univerſity, and had further Allowances from Archbiſhop *Warham*, Biſhop *Fiſher*, and Lord *Montjoy*, a very great Friend of Biſhop *Wolſey*'s.

This famous Scholar ſpent his Time in compoſing ſeveral learned Pieces, and, having prepared them for the Preſs, ſet out for *London* about the latter End of *June*, when he was introduced to the King, who received him with high Tokens of Favour. *Eraſmus*, deſigning ſhortly to go abroad, and having obtained Permiſſion to that End, viſited and took

leave of his Friends, particularly Biſhop *Wolſey and* Sir *Thomas More*.

Eraſmus's Reaſon for leaving *England* at this time was, to attend the Preſs at *Baſil*, where he choſe to have his Book publiſhed, under the Care of *Frobin*, the famous Printer. In his Paſſage he ſtopped at *Hamme* near *Calais*; from whence he writ to his Friend *Servetius*, and tells him, "That he had not left "*England* for want of Encouragement; for the King "and Biſhop *Wolſey* had done him great Favours, but "becauſe he was obliged to attend the Preſs."

On the 8th of *July* he wrote another Letter to his Friend *Ammonius*, then in *London*; wherein he ſays, "He had the Misfortune of falling into the Hands of "Cuſtom-houſe Officers, whom he could hardly for-"bear calling out of their Names, for their barbarous "Uſage towards him:" (For, it ſeems, theſe Officers, upon ſearching *Eraſmus*, took away his Papers, and carried them to another Ship, which put him into a very great Fright, fearing he ſhould thereby loſe the Labour of ſo many Years; but he was ſoon made eaſy by having them reſtored him.) And concludes, with mentioning "how kindly he was diſmiſſed by the "King, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, what Preſents "were made him in Money by the Biſhops of *Can-*"*terbury*, *Durham*, and *Rocheſter*; that he was going "for *Germany*, and, if Fortune favoured and People "kept their Word, he ſhould have an Eye again to-"wards *England*"

Some little Time after *Eraſmus* arrived ſafe at *Baſil*, where he continued about eight Months, and then returned to *London*, and from thence proceeded to *Cambridge*, (after he had paid his Duty to his Majeſty and viſited Biſhop *Wolſey*, Sir *Thomas More*, and his other Friends) where we ſhall for the preſent leave him.

Foreign Affairs. 1514.

On *Lewis*'s Obedience, and Reconciliation to the Church, the Council of *Piſa* came to nothing. *Guicciardin*

ciardin ſays, " Thoſe who were for pulling down " the Greatneſs of the *French* King, begun now to " fear his Power would be too much weakened.

The Pope continued in his Opinion, that the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould not be in the Hands of the *French*, and ſtill endeavoured that *Lewis* might not reconcile himſelf to the Emperor, (who was always as changeable as the Catholick King) and contract his Daughter with a Grandſon of one of thoſe Princes, and give her *Milan* in Dowry. This his Holineſs endeavoured to thwart by reconciling the *Switzers* to *France*, and uſed the following Arguments with *Lewis*, " That, admitting it was againſt the Grain " to reſign a Right, the Diſgrace was much the leſs, " ſince it had been promiſed without his Privity, " or Conſent, and might therefore be urged, it " was not his Agreement, but his General's; that the " World well knew the deſperate Condition *France* " was juſt delivered from, occaſioned by that Agree- " ment." On the other hand the Pope exhorted the *Switzers* to be ſatisfied with a leſs Sum than what had been promiſed by *la Trimoville*: And, in ſhort, he prevailed on the King of *France* to offer a Truce with the *Switzers* for three Years, and to make them farther Satisfaction, without deviating from his Pretentions to *Milan*. With this many of the principal *Switzers* would have been ſatisfied, but the People refuſed to abate any thing of the Capitulation of *Dijon*; and their Wrath riſe to ſuch a Pitch againſt *France*, that they threatned ſhortly to make a ſecond Incurſion into her Dominions to revenge the Breach of that Treaty. And, notwithſtanding all the Pope's Entreaties, they ſtill remained mortal Enemies to the *French*.

Whilſt the *French* and the *Switzers* were in Treaty, it gave *Ferdinand* no ſmall Uneaſineſs, being afraid they would deſert him, and ordered *Quintana*, his Miniſter at *Paris*, to renew again for a Year the Truce

with *France*, upon the ſame Foot with the former; only, by a ſecret Article, *Lewis* promiſed not to invade the *Milaneſe* this Year. In the Publication of the Truce in *France* no mention was made of *Milan*, but *Ferdinand* publiſhed it in *Spain* with that Article; ſo that their neighbouring Princes were at a Loſs to know which was right. *Lewis* made no ſcruple to prolong the Truce, becauſe he could not undertake to invade *Milan* and *Navarre* before he had made a Peace with *England*; beſides, he was very glad the World ſhould think the Truce would be followed by a Peace.

This ſeeming a natural Conſequence, it the rather inclined our King *Henry* ſeriouſly to think of a Peace. But the Pope ſtill plotted to break all *Lewis*'s Meaſures reſpecting *Milan*, and laboured to the utmoſt of his Power to procure a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, thinking thereby the *French* would be debarred from returning into *Italy*, and its Tranquillity reſtored, all agreeing, that whenever the *French* were in Poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, *Italy* had never been free from Troubles; but the Pope had further Views; the aggrandizing his Family ſeemed nearer his Heart, than the Peace of his Country, which was impracticable whilſt the *French* retained their Poſſeſſions.

Affairs of Venice, &c. 1514.

We left the *Venetians* laſt Year in a very unhappy Situation, and as they were then hard preſſed by the Emperor, (through the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Army) it induced the Republick to propoſe to make the Pope Umpire between them, which the Emperor accepted of: But it was very difficult to ſettle the Difference between theſe two Powers, becauſe, tho' the War was carried into the very State of *Venice*, the *Venetians* had now ſomewhat recovered themſelves from the Dilemma they were reduced to, ſo that the leaſt Succeſs on either ſide ſet them on demanding new Terms; therefore his Holineſs paſſed a Proviſional

ſional Sentence, ordering, that both Parties ſhould lay down their Arms; that the Emperor ſhould depoſit in his Hands *Vicenza*, and whatever was poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards* in the Territories of *Padua* and *Treviſo*; that the *Venetians* ſhould do the like with regard to *Crema*, and pay down to the Emperor 50,000 Ducats: And that it ſhould be deemed void, if the two Parties ſhould not think proper to ratify it; but, in caſe they approved of it, he promiſed to pronounce a definitive Sentence within a Year. The *Venetians* did not think proper to ratify the Proviſional Sentence, being perſuaded, that, in their preſent Circumſtances, a Truce was much more prejudicial, than the Continuation of the War; and, they remaining ſtedfaſt in that Belief, there was no Proſpect of having *Italy* reſtored to its former flouriſhing State.

For as to *Maximilian* he found his Account in this War with the *Venetians*, for his Allies were neceſſarily obliged to find him Men or Money, otherwiſe they were ſure he would quickly change Sides, and, when *France* left him, *Spain* was conſtrained to fight for him, notwithſtanding all *Ferdinand*'s Policy.

This being the Caſe, the Pope ſaw no Way of bringing theſe two Powers to agree; and therefore gave over any further Negotiation as to that Matter, and left them to fight it out.

In the mean time, as *Ferdinand* was become Maſter of *Navarre*, it was his Intereſt to embroil Affairs in the different Courts of *Europe*, and to cheriſh in *Italy* the Hopes and Fears of the ſeveral contending Parties to make himſelf neceſſary, and thereby to ſecure to himſelf the Conqueſts he had lately made. One while he aſſiſted the Emperor againſt the *Venetians*; another while he ſollicited him in their Favour; ſometimes he excited the Pope and *Switzers* not to ſuffer the King of *France* to become Maſter of *Milan*, and ſometimes he offered to aſſiſt the ſame Prince to conquer that Dutchy. However, his Po

licy-

licy began to fail him; he had ſo forfeited his Reputation with reſpect to *Sincerity*, that he was no longer truſted; it was merely from a Deſire to breed Suſpicion in their Enemies, that the reſt of the Sovereigns in *Europe* now entered into any Treaties with him, being fully convinced, that he was not to be relied on. It is true, *Lewis* the XIIth ardently longed to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, but he fully ſaw he ſhould not be able to ſucceed, unleſs the Allies were divided; which, he conceived was not impracticable, on offering to ſome of them Advantages as great as they could naturally expect from their Union; eſpecially as he knew, that each of them was ready enough to ſacrifice his Allies to his own private Intereſt.

This Scheme *Lewis* begun by ſetting on foot a Negotiation with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, concerning the Marriage of the Princeſs *Renee*, his ſecond Daughter, with *Charles* of *Auſtria*, upon the Terms propoſed by themſelves; but ſtill ſtarted Difficulties capable of continuing the Negotiation. So that upon the whole, through the different Views and Deſigns of the Princes intereſted in *Italy*, the Affairs of that Country were during this Year in a very uncertain Situation; and ſo we ſhall leave them.

Death and Character of the Queen of France.

The beginning of this Year *Ann* of *Brittany*, Queen to *Lewis* the XIIth, departed this Life, having lived to ſee the King, her Huſband, reconciled to the Pope, which ſhe had much at Heart. The Character *Guicciardin* gives of her is, "That "ſhe was a very virtuous and religious Queen:" And, ſays Father *Daniel*, "her Death was much la- "mented by the King, whom he always loved and "honoured, being a Princeſs of great Merit."

Brantome relates, "That *Lewis* had that Conſi- "deration for *Ann* of *Brittany*, his Wife, that, being "one Day told how the Clerks of the *Baſoche du* "*Palais*

" *Palais* and the Scholars had acted Plays, into which " they brought the King and his Court, and all the " Grandees, he made no more of it, than to say, " that they must have their Pastime, and that he " allowed them to speak of him and his Court, but " however not disrespectfully; and above all, that they " should not speak of the Queen, his Wife, in any " manner whatever, otherwise he would have them " all hanged." Thus you see what Honour the King paid her.

To conclude our Account of Queen *Ann* of *France*, in the Words of *Hillar de Coste*, one of her Panegyrists; " I am not ignorant that some have written, " that this good King, (meaning *Lewis* the XIIth) " finding his Princess was very fond of ruling, let " her quietly govern her Dutchy of *Brittany*, and " understanding that she was carrying on some In- " trigues against his Inclination and Service, he would " not however resent it, saying to those that prest " him to it, Some Allowance is to be made to a " *chaste Woman.*" But however afflictive the Loss of this Queen might at first be to *Lewis* the XIIth, it was soon removed, by his marrying a young and beautiful Princess.

Henry the VIIIth was now resolved to take the first Opportunity to agree with *France*, the Duke of *Longueville* being taken Prisoner at the *Battle of Spurs*, to repair this Loss he undertook, during his Imprisonment, to bring off *Henry* from his Confederacy with the Emperor; nor did he find any great Trouble to persuade him to it; for he was weary of paying the Emperor's Troops, and of furnishing him with 100 Crowns a Day for his Table, therefore he only wanted a plausible Pretence to get off, which he was not long without: For,

Further Affairs of England. 1514.

Henry had a most beautiful Sister, who was, in her Father's Life-time, solemnly affianced to *Charles*

of

of *Auſtria*, and the Contract was confirmed but the laſt Year, and a time fixed for the Solemnization of the Marriage; yet this Contract was ſoon after neglected, and ſo little thought of in *England*, that ſome of the young *Engliſh* Lords of the higheſt Quality even pretended to court the Princeſs, and the King gave way to it, though he had no deſign to marry her to any of his Subjects: Nevertheleſs, as there is no Flail againſt the Powers of Love, it is a difficult thing for any one to hold out a long time againſt them, when ſhe makes it her Buſineſs to allure. The Princeſs of *England*, after ſhe had intangled in thoſe Snares all ſuch who could give any cauſe of Jealouſy to the King, herſelf, who had charmed ſo many, was at laſt ſmitten with one whom her Brother had little Reaſon to fear.

Charles Brandon, Duke of *Suffolk*, was extremely handſome, well proportioned in his Perſon, and very active in all manner of Exerciſes; he had an Air equal to his Degree, accompanied with Sweetneſs of Temper and Diſcretion; ſo that he was welcome into all Societies, and particularly thoſe of the Ladies. The King took him for his ſecond in his Matches at Tennis, and made him the Confident of his moſt ſecret Pleaſures; conferred on him the Office of Maſter of the Horſe; the Title he cauſed him to aſſume (of Duke of *Suffolk*) was illuſtrious for the Merit and Quality of the Perſons who had borne it for above 200 Years. It was believed, that this new Title ſatisfied the Princeſs, that ſhe might beſtow her Affection on him; for our Hiſtories are full of Precedents of the Earls of *Suffolk* marrying the Siſters and Daughters of our Kings. In ſhort, the Princeſs was ſo far in love with him, that ſhe could not conceal it from being publickly taken notice of. The Duke on his Part made ſuitable returns, and it became quite familiar to the Courtiers; and the King too only laughed at the Buſineſs, and made himſelf

ſelf merry with the two Lovers; not that he approved of it in the main, or had ſo high a Value for *Suffolk* as to make him his Brother-in-law; (though he had a greater Kindneſs for him than for the reſt of his Courtiers, ſave *Wolſey*) but was in hopes to draw ſome Advantage from the Inequality of this Amour, which he thought would exaſperate the *Engliſh* Lords againſt her, and cauſe them to deſiſt from looking any more after her: Beſides, he fancied himſelf ſo much Maſter of his Siſter and *Suffolk*, that nothing could be acted between them without his Conſent.

However, all this did not diſcourage the Duke of *Longueville*, from propoſing to the King a Match between the Princeſs and his Maſter, and this he firſt did as from himſelf, and his Majeſty liſtened to the Duke with ſuch Marks of Reſpect as ſufficiently diſcovered his approving of the Propoſal; which was as lucky a Hit as Fortune ever could have afforded him.

But yet the King, when the Duke ſpoke to him of this Match, anſwered, "That it was time enough "to treat about it when he was impowered to de-"mand the Princeſs in Form."

The Duke of *Longueville*, giving a ſhrewd Gueſs at the King's Thoughts, diſpatched a Gentleman into *France*, under Pretence of ſending for his Ranſom; but it was to aſſure *Lewis*, "it would be his own "Fault if he did not make a Peace with *England* "upon reaſonable Conditions, and marry the King's "Siſter, one of the moſt lovely Women in *Eu-*"*rope*.

Lewis, who was amorous in his Inclination, willingly entertained the Propoſal; and the Portraiture of the Princeſs, that was ſent to him, was too powerful a Charm to let his Affection for the female Sex lie dormant, flattering himſelf with the hopes of having a Son; which induced him to order the

Duke of *Longueville*, to demand the Princeſs *Mary* in Marriage for him.

The Duke no ſooner received Inſtructions on that Head, than he applied to his Majeſty, who referred him to treat with Biſhop *Wolſey* upon the Subject of his Commiſſion, and ſoon after he was privately introduced to the King, where he was ſo well received, that *Wolſey* was directed to prepare a Draught of the Articles between the two Kings. Whilſt they were drawing up, the King and the Duke had another private Conference, wherein his Majeſty freely delivered himſelf, on what Terms both the Peace and the Marriage ſhould be concluded with his Maſter, and the Letter, which the King wrote thereon to Biſhop *Wolſey*, will beſt explain what paſſed between them:*

The King's Letter to Wolſey. "My Lord *Lynkecolne*, I recommende me unto yow.

"And lette yow wyte, that I have ſpokyne with "the Duke, whyche in the begynnynge was as yll "affrayde as ever he was in his Lyffe, leſt no good "Effecte ſhulde comme to pas.

"Nevertheles in farther communyng we wente "more rondly to oure Matters, inſomoche that I "ſayde to him, fieinge that the Kyng your Maſter "hathe ſoght ſo gentely unto us, for bothe Amyte "and Maryage, I aſſure yow (oure Honour ſavyd) "we colde be well content to gyffe herkyne therto, "and, yff the Offers were reſonable, agre upon "thos ſame; but this be not reſonable, excepte the "Amyte ſhulde no longer contynw then the Pay-"ment off Money, and yett natt ſo, excepte ther "wer a reſonable Summe off Money to be payd in "Hand by and by.

"Iff hys Maſter wyll have the Maryage I can natt "ſe how itt can be conveniently, excepte the Amyte "be made duryng oure Lyffes, and on yer affter, "to

* Rymer's Fœdera, *Vol.* XIII. *fol.* 143, 144.

" to the Intente that all Supycyon off bothe Sydes
" may be ſett apart.

" Whyche Maryage and Amyte your Maſter may
" have under thys maner, that is to ſay, paynge yerly
" on Hundred-thouſand Crownes, and at hys Re-
" queſt I natt to ſtyke for no redy Mony in hande,
" but I to ſtande contente therwith for Recompenſe
" off all Thynges.

" Whyche yff your Maſter conſidere what Hery-
" taunce he holdyth from me, and what good my
" Amyte may do, to helpe forth hys Mater in *I-*
" *taly*, I thinke he wyll natt grettly ſtyke at.

" This forther more I ſayde to the Duke, ſurly
" I can natt ſee how the Amyte made for yers can
" any longer indure than the Payment, whyche exſpy-
" ryde ſhulde be occaſion off new Breche and De
" mans, wherby nodor he nor we ſhulde lyffe qui-
" ettly, whyche yff ther full Alyance I wholde be
" lothe to ſee; wherfor I ſee no way to eſchwe all
" Dangers and Parraylles, and to recompence me
" for withholding off myne Inheritance, (whyche yff I
" whold be ſlake in my Subjects whold murmure att)
" but to make thys Amyte during oure Lyffys, and
" on Yere affter, paynge yerly as above reherſed,
" whyche Amyte wons grantyd, the Alyance ſhulde
" natt be refuſyde, nor no nother Thyng, whyche
" with my Honour ſavyd, I myght do.

" Saying forther more to hyme, that yff I
" myght demande wyth my Honour any leſſe, or
" take any leſſe Offere (ſeying his Maſter is ſo
" well mynded to the forſay'd Aliance and Amyte)
" I wholde be glade to do that at hys Requeſt, but
" leſſe than thys hit cannatt ſtonde with my Ho-
" nour, nor my Subjectes wyll not be contente that
" I ſhulde take.

" My Lord, I ſhuyd hym forthermore, that, yff he
" thoght we myght truſt to have thys Ende, I
" wholde be contente that yow and he ſhulde com-

" mune on all other Artycylles, concernyng the A-
" myte and Maryage, tyll we myght have abſolute
" Aſſurance in that Behalfe for lyſyng off Time.

" To whyche he anſwarde, *That he colde natt aſſure*
" *me thereoff, but that he truſtyde, ſeyng my Demaus*
" *wer ſo reſonable, that hys Maſter wholde agre*
" *therto.*

" On truſt hereon we wool, that yow begyne to
" Penne the reſydwe off the Artycylles as ſoone as you
" can. And thus fare yow well.

" Wryttyn with the Hande of yowr lovyng Ma-
" ſter,

" HENRY R.

" *Dor.*
" *To my Lorde* Lincolne."

The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in Obedience to the King's Order, finiſhed the Articles, which were afterwards approved of by both Parties.

The Princeſs readily ſubmitted to what the King was tranſacting on her Behalf, and endeavoured to ſmother her *firſt Love*; ſo that the Zeal and Readineſs, which Biſhop *Wolſey* ſhewed on this Occaſion, for the Benefit of the Nation, as it was then apprehended, was ſo acceptable to this amiable Princeſs, that ſhe many Times expreſſed how highly ſhe was ſatisfied with his Conduct.

The French *King ſends Ambaſſadors to* England.

Lewis, being informed of the Steps taken by the Duke of *Longueville*, to accompliſh both the Amity and Marriage, was ſo pleaſed therewith that he ſent over, to aſſiſt the Duke in this Negotiation, *Loys D' Orleance*, *John de Selve*, firſt Preſident of *Roane*, and *Thomas Bohier*, Chevalier General of *France*: And *Henry* nominated *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, and his Prime Miniſter, *Wolſey*, his Commiſſioners, to treat with the *French* Ambaſſadors, on the different Matters then on the Tapis

The

The *French* Miniſters were firſt introduced to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, where the Plan, for an Accommodation between the two Crowns, was laid before them and diſcuſſed; an Account whereof was immediately tranſmitted to the *French* King, who ſoon approved of them; and, finding the Favour *Wolſey* was in with his Maſter, he generally diſpatched ſuch farther Inſtructions, the *French* Miniſters were deficient in to the Primier himſelf; which appears from the following Letter, that two of thoſe Miniſters wrote to Biſhop *Wolſey*; and runs in *Engliſh* as follows:

My Lord,

" We received a Packet, from the King our Ma-
" ſter, between *Sittinborn* and this Place, (*Canterbury*)
" which you did us the Honour to ſend us. We
" ſent to the Preſident that which was directed for
" him, who will inform you of the Good-will the King
" our Maſter bears to the King, his good Brother,
" and alſo to yourſelf. You will often hear from
" him, as from one in whom he places the greateſt
" Confidence. On that Account we recommend our-
" ſelves to your Favour. We pray God, my Lord,
" for your Health and long Life.

" *Your good and perfect Friend,*

" LOYS D'ORLEANCE.

" *Your moſt humble Servant,*

" THOMAS BOHIER.

" To my Lord of *Lincoln.*"

In ſhort, the Conference, between the Miniſters of both Crowns, was immediately opened, and nothing was to be ſeen but Serenety of Countenance on each Part; ſo that, till proper Articles could be ſigned between the two Kings, the reſpective Miniſters agreed, in their Maſter's Names, upon a Ceſſation of Arms; and ſoon after the following Treaties were concluded between *England* and *France.*

I.

I. *Treaty of Peace and Amity between* Lewis *the* XIIth *and* Henry *the* VIIIth *concluded at* London, Auguſt the 7*th*, 1514.

Act. Pub. XIII. p. 413. "That the Amity between the two "Kings ſhould laſt till a Year after "the Death of the ſhorteſt Liver. — That the Succeſſor of him that died firſt ſhould give notice "within the Year to the other, whether he would "prolong this or make a new Treaty. — That all "Impoſitions laid within 52 Years paſt, by one "King on the Subjects of the other, ſhould be abo-"liſhed. — That the Peace ſhould not be deemed "violated by Outrages committed on either Side. — "That neither of the two Kings ſhould afford Pro-"tection or Refuge to the Rebels of the other. — "That *Scotland* ſhould be included in the Treaty, "on Condition that the *Scots* ſhould commit no "Hoſtilities againſt *England*, after the 25th of *No-"vember*. — That the Treaty ſhould be ratified and "ſworn to by the two Kings, and confirmed by "the Parliament of *England*, and the States-General "of *France*. — That each of the two Kings ſhould "endeavour to obtain of the Pope, a Sentence of "Excommunication againſt the Infractor of the "Peace."

II. *Treaty concerning the Marriage of* Lewis *the* XIIth *with the Princeſs* Mary.

Ibid. p. 425. "That Matrimony ſhould be con-"tracted by Proxies, and *per Verba de preſenti*, with-"in ten Days after the Date of this Treaty. — "That the King of *England* (within two Months "after the Contract) ſhould convey, at his own "Charge, the Princeſs, his Siſter to *Abbeville*, where, "within four Days after her Arrival, the King of "*France*, ſhould ſolemnly marry her. — That *Mary*

"ſhould

" ſhould have in Dower Four hundred thouſand " Crowns, Two hundred thouſand whereof ſhould be " reckoned for Jewels, *&c.* and, in caſe of Reco- " very, *Lewis* ſhould be obliged to reſtore only the " Jewels, *&c.* to the Value aforeſaid. — That the " other half *Henry* ſhould pay, by deducting it out " of the Million the King of *France* was bound to " pay by a late Treaty. — That the future Queen's " Jointure ſhould be as great as that aſſigned to " *Anne* of *Brittany*, or any other Queen of *France*. " — That, in caſe of *Lewis*'s Death, *Mary* ſhould " enjoy her Dower and Jointure during Life, whether " ſhe reſided in *France* or *England*.

III. *Treaty for the Payment of a Million of Crowns.*

By this Treaty *Lewis* acknowledged, " That, by the Treaty of *Eſtaples*, *Charles* " the VIIIth was bound to pay *Henry* " the VIIth, or his Succeſſors, the Sum of 745,000 " Crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the " Arrears of the ſame. — That *Charles*, Duke of " *Orleans*, his Father, by an Obligation, dated *March* " the 7th, 1414, had owned himſelf Debtor in a " certain Sum to *Margaret* of *Somerſet*, Grand-mo- " ther of *Henry* the VIIIth. — That, theſe two Sums " being not yet paid, *Lewis* bound himſelf to pay " to the King of *England*, or his Succeſſors, a Mil- " lion of Crowns, as well for the Arrears of the ſaid " two Sums, as on account of the good Affection " he bore him, and to the End their Amity might be " the more laſting. — That this Million ſhould be " paid by Half-yearly Payments of Fifty thouſand " *Livres Tournois*, till the whole ſhould be diſcharged." Ibid. p. 438, 439.

Monſ. *Rapin* remarks upon theſe Treaties as follows: " Thus (ſays he) the War, " which had been undertaken on Pretence of Re- " ligion, Rapin's *Remark.*

" ligion, and for the Glory of God, ended in a " Treaty which mentions neither Religion, nor the " Pope, nor the Church."

To this we reply, That his Holineſs himſelf, as *Rapin* confeſſes, after *Lewis* was reconciled to the Church, recommended the King to make a Peace with *France*; ſo that all the End propoſed from the War as to that Matter was anſwered: But, if it had not, the King was juſtifiable in concluding theſe Treaties with *France*, (without conſulting his Allies) even from what *Rapin* himſelf has related touching the Treatment he had before met with from them.

It may not be improper here to take notice, that, though the Princeſs *Mary* had been ſolemnly affianced to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIth; yet *Lewis* the XIIth and *Henry* the VIIIth, made no difficulty of agreeing upon this Marriage; nay, they did not ſo much as demand the Pope's Diſpenſation, to abſolve *Mary* from her firſt Contract.

The Ceremony uſed by the Princeſs, to ſhew ſhe did not hold herſelf to be bound by this Contract, was no more than this, a few Days before the ſigning of the Marriage-treaty, *Mary* declared, in the Preſence of a Notary-publick and other Witneſſes, " That ſhe had been forced to plight her Faith " to *Charles*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and that the ſaid " Arch-duke had promiſed to eſpouſe her by Proxy, " and *per Verba de preſenti*, as ſoon as he was 14 " Years of Age; yet he had broken his Word." The Princeſs added further, " That ſhe was credi- " bly informed, that the Counſellers and Confidents " of the Arch-duke was inſtilling into him, to the " utmoſt of their Power, an Averſion for the King " of *England*, her Brother; and therefore upon the " whole declared, ſhe was adviſed, that ſhe was free " from that Contract, and at liberty to marry any " other Prince."

After

After the Princeſs had made this publick Declaration, the two Kings agreed on the Solemnization of the Marriage, which ſhortly after was performed, the Treaties were ratified by both Kings, and the Peace between the two Nations was publickly proclaimed, which were very acceptable both to the People of *England* and *France*.

Cardinal Baynbridge *poiſoned.*

During theſe Tranſactions Cardinal *Baynbridge*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was poiſoned at *Rome*, on the 14th of *July*; and the ſame Day Cardinal *Medicis* wrote to the King to the following Effect:

" *Moſt Serene, moſt Invincible, and moſt Venerable Sir,*

" After the humble Recommendations of a good " Memory to the laſt, the Cardinal of *York* paid " the Debt which he owed to Nature; the Grief " which I received on that Occaſion I am not able " to expreſs by Words; for, beſides that I regarded " and loved him in no vulgar Manner, our Order " has ſuſtained a very great Loſs in the want of ſo " great a Father, and Maſter; but, ſince theſe " Things are from God, who is pleaſed with nothing " but what is right, we muſt ſubmit to his Will, " and intreat his Mercy, that he may be thought " worthy among his Servants to receive the Croſier " to Eternity. As I thought it a Part of my Duty, " I immediately attended our moſt holy Father, and " beſeeched him that he would not diſpoſe of his " late Eminency's Benefice, till he knew your Ma- " jeſty's Pleaſure, which I eaſily obtained from his " Holineſs *, through his great and paternal Bene- " volence and Affection for your Majeſty. For my " own Part, I will in no ſort depart from my In-

* From this it appears, that what Mr. *Harmer* aſſerts is true, that Popes in ſome Caſes have diſpoſed of vacant Biſhopricks in *England*, without conſulting the King.

" ſtitution, and my Duty towards your Majeſty. As " to the Sickneſs and Death of the Cardinal, and of " my Endeavours and Study for your Majeſty's Ser- " vice, my Lord of *Wincheſter* can more fully certify. " I commend myſelf moſt humbly to your Royal " Majeſty, whom may God long preſerve ſecure " and moſt happy.

" From the Apoſtolick Palace at *Rome*, *July* the " 14th, 1514.

" *Your Sacred Royal Majeſty's moſt*
" *humble and moſt faithful Servant,*

" J. *Cardinal de* MEDICIS."

His Education, Death, and Character.

Dr. *Chriſtopher Baynbridge* was born at *Hilton*, near *Appleby*, in *Weſtmoreland*, and deſcended from an antient Family. He was educated at *Queen's* College in *Oxford*, (to which he was a Benefactor, by giving the Manor of *Toot-baldon*, with other Eſtates and Lands) and commenced Doctor of both Laws. He was firſt made Maſter of the Rolls, then Duke of *York*, and afterwards obtained the Preferments we have already mentioned. His Death happened in this Manner: The Cardinal, as ſome ſaid, was of a very paſſionate Temper; and one *Rinaldo de Modena*, an *Italian* Prieſt, had diſobliged him to ſuch a Degree, that the Cardinal ſtruck him. The Prieſt, in Return for this Treatment, watched all Opportunities to be revenged on his Maſter, and this he ſhortly afterwards effected by poiſoning him.

This horrid Fact made a great Noiſe; the King at firſt directed a particular Inquiry to be made into it. *Pace* was in the Cardinal's Service at the Time of his Death, who tranſmitted to his Majeſty a full Account thereof in the following Letter.

" That the Prieſt, after he had poiſoned the " Archbiſhop, his Maſter, killed himſelf; that the " Biſhop of *Worceſter* and one of his Chamberlains

" were

" were accuſed of being concerned in poiſoning " the Archbiſhop; that Proceedings were commenced " at Law, in order to make a full Inquiry into the " Authors and Actors in ſo black a Tragedy, that " they may be brought to condign Puniſhment; " that the Lawyers at *Rome* adviſed the taking up " of the Biſhop and his Chamberlain; that, where " there was ſo great a Suſpicion, the Law allowed " putting them to Torture, in order to diſcover the " Truth, without regard to the Dignity of the Party " accuſed: That he had proceeded thus far in making " the Inquiry, as well in reſpect to his Majeſty, as " for his own Juſtification, for that it might have " been thought, in caſe he had been ſilent, that he " had been an Actor in this almoſt unheard of Cruel- " ty: That, as the Biſhop was the King's Orator, " he had not proceeded farther than to endeavour to " find out the Truth, waiting his Highneſs's Di- " rections. *Pace* lamented the Reproaches thrown on " his dead Maſter, by the Biſhop; for, ſays he, no- " thing but the Love and Fidelity, which I bear to " your Highneſs and my Country, induced me to " act as I have done; and, though my Lord (ſays " *Pace*) had ſome Failings, yet he took God to witneſs, " that the Archbiſhop was the moſt faithful Man " to his Prince that ever was born, and ever watch- " ful for the Good of his Majeſty and his native " Country, notwithſtanding the Inſinuations that had " been made to the contrary."

This Letter was generally well received, and *Pace* was afterwards employed in ſeveral Affairs during *Wolſey*'s Favour with the King: It alſo appears, that the Biſhop of *Worceſter* was continued in the King's Service; ſo that without doubt the Accuſation raiſed againſt the Biſhop was ill founded, though it does not appear how he got rid of the Proſecution, that *Pace* mentions in his Letter to have been commenced againſt him.

Paulus Jovius ſays, "The Prieſt, who poiſoned the "Cardinal, was publickly executed; and that he con- "feſſed the Fact at that Time." But *Ciaconius*, in his *Lives of the Cardinals*, relates, "That the Murderer "was put into *Priſon*, and, to avoid a more ſhame- "ful Death, he took a Doſe of Poiſon himſelf; and "that his Body was afterwards cut in two, and placed "upon the Gates of *Rome*."

The Cardinal was buried in the Hoſpital of *St. Thomas the Martyr*, in *Rome*, in the 2d Year of Pope *Leo* the Xth, with this Epitaph: Which ſhews the great Eſteem he was in at the Court of *Rome*.

CHRISTOPHERO ARCHIEPIESCO EBORACENSI.
S. PRAXEDIS PRESBYTERO CARDINALI ANGLIÆ
A JULIO II.
PONTIFICE MAXIMO OB EGREGIAM OPERAM
S. R. ECCLESIÆ PRÆSTITAM DUM SUI REGNI
LEGATUS ESSET,
ASSUMPTO QUAM MOX DOMI, ET FORIS CASTRIS
PONTIFICIIS PRÆFECTUS TUTATUS EST,
Obiit Pridie Idus Julii, M.D.XIV.

The ſame in *Engliſh*.

"Chriſtopher, *Archbiſhop of* York, *and Cardinal* "*Prieſt, with the Title of* St. Praxedis, *who for, his* "*eminent Services to the Holy See of* Rome, *when Le-* "*gate in* England, *was called home by* Julius *the* IId, "*and made Governor of the Papal Caſtles and For-* "*treſſes, which he defended.*

"*He died the* 14th *Day of* July, 1514." *

Wolſey *made Archbiſhop of* York.

As ſoon as the King received an Account of Cardinal *Baynbridge*'s Death, he demanded the Archbiſhoprick of *York* for *Thomas Wolſey*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, which was immediately

* If we are not miſinformed, *Charles Baynbridge*, of *London*, Gentleman, is a Deſcendant from the Family of this famous Cardinal; and aſſiduous, ſincere Stateſman.

ately granted, ſo that *Wolſey*, in leſs than one Year, was preferred to three different Biſhopricks, namely *Tournay*, *Lincoln*, and *York*.

His MAJESTY's GRANT

" *To* Thomas, *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *elected Archbi-*
" *ſhop of* York.

" The King, to all thoſe, *&c. Greeting*, Know Ye,
" that whereas the Archiepiſcopal See of the Cathedral
" Church or Metropolitan of *York* has been vacated,
" by the Death of the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt,
" *Chriſtopher*, late Cardinal and Archbiſhop of the
" ſaid See, and remains ſo at preſent.

" We, out of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge
" and Inclination, have given and granted, and by
" theſe Preſents do give and grant, to the venerable
" Father in Chriſt, *Thomas*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, now
" elected to that of *York*, Poſſeſſion of the ſaid
" Archiepiſcopal See, together with all the Tempo-
" ralities thereof; as likewiſe of all the Caſtles, Lord-
" ſhips, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents and
" Vaſſalages; Portions, Penſions, Annuities, and
" all other Poſſeſſions whatſoever, belonging or ap-
" pertaining to the ſaid Archiepiſcopal See.

" We alſo have granted, unto the aforeſaid vene-
" rable Father, all and every the military Contracts,
" Vaſſalages, Wards, Guardianſhips, and the Poſ-
" ſeſſion of all Hereditaments whatſoever, holding of,
" and appertaining to the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, to
" which we are at preſent intitled; alſo all manner of
" Duties, of all and ſingular that in any reſpect hold
" of the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, or that thereunto be-
" long and appertain.

" The ſaid venerable Father, and his Aſſigns, to
" have, hold, enjoy, and retain the ſaid Poſſeſſion,
" together with all and every the Premiſes, from the

" Time

" Time of the forementioned Archbiſhop's Death, " and as long as the ſaid See ſhall be vacant; alſo all " manner of Temporalities belonging to the ſaid " Archbiſhoprick, which we, or our Heirs ſhould " deliver and reſtore to the aforeſaid venerable Father, " without Fee or any other Burthen to us or our Heirs, " on that Account, to be given, paid, or made; and " this ſo fully and amply, as if we poſſeſſed all and " ſingular the Premiſes, or ought to have, if this " our preſent Conceſſion thereof had not been made.

" We have alſo granted to the ſaid venerable " Father, all manner of Advowſons, Gifts, Preſen- " tations, Nominations, and Collations, and to inſti- " tute Incumbents in Churches, Abbies, Archdea- " conries, Dignities, Priories, Colleges, Hoſpitals, " and all other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices whatſoever. " As to the Advowſons or Patronages in the ſaid " Archbiſhoprick, which have fallen in this Vacation, " they are alſo to be held, conferred, given, pre- " ſented, and inſtituted at the Will and Pleaſure of " the ſaid venerable Father, without any Impeach- " ment from us, or by any other Perſon in our Name " and Stead.

" And moreover, we have granted to the aforeſaid " venerable Father full Power and Authority to name, " make, and conſtitute all and ſingular the Seneſcals, " Bailiffs, Miniſters, and other Officers whatſoever " in the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, and of all the Tempo- " ralities thereof, in the ſame Manner as if thoſe Offi- " cers were appointed by us, when the Temporalities " of the ſaid Archbiſhoprick remained in our Hands.

" And further, out of our more bountiful Grace, " we have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents " do give and grant, unto the aforeſaid venerable Fa- " ther, all and ſingular the Iſſues, Rents, Revenues, " and Profits of all and every the Temporalities, and o- " ther the Premiſes whatſoever, and every Parcel there- " of, from the Time of the late Archbiſhop's Death

" hither-

" hitherto, and from hence forward during the ſaid " Vacation, to have and receive, as well by his own " Hands and thoſe of his Miniſters, as by the Hands " of the late and preſent Collectors, Sheriffs, Seneſcals, " Bailiffs, Receivers, or other Occupiers of the afore- " ſaid Temporalities, and of all and ſingular the " Premiſes, or any Parcel thereof, for the Uſe of the " ſaid venerable Father, without Fine, or any other " Account to be made or given, and without Let, " Stay, Trouble, or Moleſtation, or Grievance from us " or our Heirs, or any Officers whatſoever belonging " to us; and this without any Fee to be paid in the " *Hanaper-Office* of our Chancery.

" Foraſmuch as expreſs Mention, *&c.*

" In Teſtimony whereof, *&c.*

" Witneſs the King at *Weſtminſter*, *Auguſt* the 5th.

" By the King in Perſon."

And his Holineſs was reſolved not to be behind-hand with his Majeſty, in granting Biſhop *Wolſey* at this time a Favour, which he manifeſted by ſending him the following Bull.

To T. Wolſey, *the Abſolution Bull.* R. Barotius.

" Leo, *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, To* " *the venerable Brother*, Thomas, *Biſhop of* Lin- " coln, *Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

" The accuſtomed Clemency of the Apoſtolical " See, left the Diſpoſitions made by her, relating to " Metropolitan Churches, ſhould in any reſpect be " impugned; but that the Perſons tranſlated to them " may, with a pure Heart and ſincere Conſcience, " preſide over them, She adminiſters, as is proper, " ſeaſonable Remedies.

" Wherefore as this Day, with the Advice of our " Brethren, and the Fullneſs of Apoſtolical Power, " we have reſolved to abſolve you from the Ties " which you acknowledge to bind you to preſide over " the Church of *Lincoln*, and to transfer you to that

" of

" of *York*, at preſent in ſome manner deſtitute of " Paſtoral Comforts, of which Church we appoint " you Archbiſhop and Paſtor.

" We, leſt the Tranſlation and Government, if " by chance you ſhould labour under any Eccleſi- " aſtical Sentences, Cenſures, and Pains, that they " may be invalid, and our Willingneſs to move thoſe " Obſtacles known, in order that the aforeſaid Tranſ- " lation and Government, and all the Letters granted " on that Account, may have their Effects, by Apo- " ſtolical Authority in the Tenour of theſe Preſents, " we abſolve you, and declare you abſolved from all " manner of Excommunications, Suſpenſions, Inter- " dictions, and other Eccleſiaſtical Sentences, Cenſures, " and Pains, pronounced, *a Jure vel ab Homine*, on what " Occaſion or Cauſe ſoever, if under any you ſhould be.

" Notwithſtanding the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, " and thoſe of *Octonus* and *Otten*, formerly Legates " from the ſaid See in the Kingdom of *England*, or " the Conſtitutions, Ordinances, and Statutes, or o- " ther Cuſtoms of the ſaid Church of *York*, made in " Provincial or Synodal Councils, confirmed by the " Apoſtolical See, by Oath or otherwiſe whatſoever, " to the contrary notwithſtanding.

" Be it lawful therefore for no Man whatſoever, to " deſtroy this Inſtrument of our Abſolution and De- " claration, *&c.*

" Given in St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, in the Year of the In- " carnation of our Lord, 1514, on the 17th of the Ka- " lends of *October*, and the ſecond Year of our Pontificate.

" *B. Cathenianus*
" on the Folding
" *Jo. de Madrigal.*
" *Jo. Cheminere*
" *Alviſius*
" *C. Wyrit*
" *A. Normil.* " *Alviſius.*"

Under a Leaden Seal, hanging to red and yellow Strings done with Wax.

Biſhop

Biſhop *Wolſey* was no ſooner conſecrated Archbiſhop of *York*, but he took Poſſeſſion of *York-place**, now called *Whitehall*, the Palace in Town belonging to his See, which he found in a very ruinous Condition. This induced him to give Directions for repairing one Part, and pulling down and rebuilding the other; and his Orders were executed with ſo much Expedition, that in leſs than a Year it was put into a Condition fit to receive him and his Family: And ſoon after the Archbiſhop ſet on foot another Building at *Hampton-Court*, which was carried on in ſo elegant a Taſte, that it drew Perſons from all Parts to view it; of which Structure we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. As to *York-place*, it had the Misfortune to be ſomewhat in the Condition that has of late Years attended *Cawood-Caſtle*, belonging to the Church of *York*, in reſpect to not having a Viſit from its Owner for ſeveral Years; but for that Archbiſhop *Baynbridge* was not ſo much to blame, becauſe he was beyond Sea, employed in the Service of his Country.

Archbiſhop Wolſey *takes Poſſeſſion of* York-place.

When *Wolſey* was preferred to the See of *York*, *William Atwater* ſucceeded him in the See of *Lincoln*, on the 12th of *November*, who had been many Years Vice-chancellor, or rather as then the Term was, Commiſſary of the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

But, to return to *Lewis*'s Marriage, it was firſt ſolemnized by Proxy in *England*, according to the Agreement in the Treaty; whereof an Account was ſent by a ſpecial Meſſenger to the *French* King, and ſcarce a Day went over without Couriers paſſing and repaſſing to and from *France*, by one of which *Lewis* wrote the following Letter to the Archbiſhop.

* *Walter Grey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, in the Year 1216, purchaſed the Houſe now called *Whitehall*, of the Friers Preachers in *Weſtminſter*, (which *Hubert de Burg* built and gave them) and ſettled it upon his See; from this Time it was called *York-place*, and became the moſt uſual Reſidence of the Archbiſhops of that Dioceſe, when in *London*. See the learned Mr. *Drake*'s Antiquities of *York*, Folio 426.

" *The* French *King's Letter to* Thomas Wolſey, " *Elected of* York.

" *My Lord of* York,

" What I have learned, by the Return of this Cou-
" rier from your Side, determines me not to let
" him ſet out again without my Letters to you, by
" which I affectionately pray you to make my good
" and cordial Recommendations to the King and
" Queen, my good Brother and Siſter; and alſo
" to the Queen my Wife. I likewiſe pray you to
" do what you can that my delightful Spouſe, may ſet
" out from thence as ſoon as poſſibly it may be; for
" there is nothing in this World I ſo much deſire as
" as to ſee her, and to be with her.

" In this you will do me Pleaſure, and oblige me
" more and more, praying God, my Lord, *&c.* The
" 2d *September*.

" Louis.

" *Robertel.*

" To my Lord of *York.*"

This Marriage was no ſooner celebrated in *England*, but the Duke of *Longueville*, and the other Priſoners, detained here ſince the *Battle of the Spurs*, returned to *France*, expreſſing at parting their Gratitude, for the kind and humane Treatment they had met with from his Majeſty.

Part of the Months of *Auguſt* and *September* were chiefly ſpent in the Preparations for the Princeſs's Journey, the Celebration of the Marriage in *France*, and the Ratification of the Treaties.

During this time many Letters paſſed between the two Kings, and between *Lewis* and *Wolſey*; wherein he particularly took notice of the impatient Deſire that her Royal Highneſs had to ſee his Majeſty, which was ſo acceptable to him, that, in Anſwer to

one of the Archbiſhop's the King ſent another in much ſtronger Terms than any before.

" *My Lord of* York, *my good Friend*,

" I very lately received the Letter you ſent me, " and by the Contents thereof underſtand the good " and kind Intentions that you have, not only to " bring about a good Peace and mutual Amity be- " tween the King, my good Brother, and Couſin, " and myſelf, but alſo to ſtrengthen and encreaſe " it, our Honours and Eſtates.

" For the which, as affectionately as I can, I give " you Thanks, and I pray you, my Lord of *York*, " and my good Friend, firmly to believe, that there " is no Alliance in *Chriſtendom* I hold more dear, " than I hold, and ever will hold, while I live, that " of my ſaid Brother and Couſin, hoping, thro' your " Means, to find always in him a correſponding In- " clination.

" And as to what you write about the Paſſage of " the Queen, my Wife, I give you Thanks for the " Pains that you have taken for providing all Things " requiſite and neceſſary for her Voyage, and the " extraordinary Diligence you have uſed, and ſtill uſe, " as my Lord of *Marigny* and *Johan de Paris* have " wrote, beſeeching you to continue your Care with " as much Expedition as you can, becauſe the great- " eſt Deſire I have at preſent is to ſee her on this " ſide the Water, and to meet her. In contributing " to which without loſs of Time, as you promiſed " me, you will do me a ſingular Pleaſure, and ſuch " as I ſhall always remember, and think myſelf o- " bliged to you for.

" And as to your having detained the ſaid Lord " *Marigny* and *Johan de Paris*, to aſſiſt you in ſetting " out all Things *Alamode de France*, you have done me " much Pleaſure therein, and I have written by theſe " Preſents to them, that not only in this they ſhould

" obey you, but alſo in all other Things you ſhall " command, with the ſame Reſpect as if they were " about my Perſon.

" And as to the Pleaſure which you inform me, by " your ſaid Letters, my Wife takes in hearing good " News from me, and that the Thing which ſhe " daily deſires is to ſee me, and be in my Company, " I deſire you, my Lord of *York*, and good Friend, " to inform her from me, and make her ſenſible, " that my Deſires and Wiſhes are the ſame, and in " every reſpect like hers; and, becauſe it is not poſ- " ſible that I ſhould ſee her ſo ſoon as I could wiſh, " I intreat her, that, as often as may be, I may hear " from her, and I promiſe the like on my Side.

" Moreover, in reſpect to the very affectionate and " cordial Aſſurances, that you have given my Brother " and Couſin on my Part, and thoſe which in his " Name you have given me, I return you my Thanks " with all my Heart, and intreat you to ſay as much " to him; and alſo, that you will be pleaſed to let " me know, if there be any Thing in my Realm " that would pleaſe him, and I will ſpare no Pains to " procure it for him.

" To conclude, I have ſeen what you have written " to my Couſin, the Duke of *Longueville*, and I have " ordered him to ſend you ſuch an Anſwer as you " ſee. I deſire you will give Credit thereto, and let " me hear from you as often as poſſible, and thereby " you will do me the greateſt Pleaſure imaginable. " Praying God to have you my, Lord of *York*, my " good Friend, in his keeping, *I am*,

" LOUIS.

" Written at *Paris* the —— Day of *September*. " Directed to Monſ. *de York*, my good Friend."

We are now entered into the Month of *October*, in which the Princeſs *Mary* was conducted to *Dover* by the King and Queen; the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and

and *York*, the Marquis of *Dorſet*, with divers of the Nobility and Gentry. Here the King committed the Princeſs to the Care of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and, after having taken a ſuitable Farewel of his Siſter, he with his Court returned to *London*; the Duke with the Princeſs embarked for *France*, with a Retinue agreeable to her high Birth, among whom *Charles Somerſet*, Earl of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Nicholas Weſt*, Dean of *Windſor*; the Lords *de la Warre*, *Barnars*, and *Monteagle*; Sir *Maurice Berkley*,* Sir *John Peche*, and Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*.

The Princeſs Mary lands in France.

The Princeſs, in her Voyage to *France*, met with a Storm, whereby the Fleet was ſeparated; ſome of the Ships were driven on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, and that wherein the Princeſs was to *Bologne*. Here her Train was landed, and herſelf carried on Shore by Sir *Chriſtopher Garniſh*, where ſhe was received by *Francis* (*Lewis*'s Son-in-law) who was now called Duke *de Valois*, where he again ſolemnly affianced her in the Name of his Father-in-law.

From *Bologne* the Princeſs proceeded by Land to meet her Royal Conſort, attended by the Duke *de Valois* and the reſt of her Retinue, in which were thirty-ſix Ladies riding on Horſe-back, with Trappings of Crimſon-velvet, embroidered with Gold, and herſelf, with all the Advantages of Beauty, rode in a Chariot lined with Tiſſue-cloth and Crimſon-velvet.

Thus was this charming Princeſs accompanied when ſhe met the *French* King at *Abbeville*, a large Town between *Calais* and *Paris*, who received her with the higheſt Tokens of Love, and, on the 9th of *October*, the Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp.

From

* Sir *Maurice* was made Knight of the *Bath* at the Coronation of *Henry* the VIIIth, and was ſummoned to Parliament in the 14th Year of that King, who afterwards employed him both in a civil and military Capacity, from whom the preſent Right Honourable *Auguſtus Berkley*, Earl of *Berkley*, is deſcended.

From this Town the Queen proceeded to *Paris*, and made her publick Entry into that City on the 4th of *November*, which, *Hall* tells us, was as follows: "First, the City-"guards met her without St. *Dennis*'s "Gate, cloathed in Gold-smith's Work; and then "the different Orders of the Clergy to the amount "of near Three thousand. Her Majesty sat in a fine "Chair covered round with whole Cloth of Gold: "On her Head was placed a rich Coronet full of "Pearls, and her Neck and Breast covered with "Jewels. Before her proceeded a Guard of *Ger-*"*man* Soldiers, dressed after the *German* Manner; "and about her Person the King's Body-guard at-"tended, which were then all *Scotch*, the Dukes of "*Valois*, *Bourbon*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Vendosme*, *Longue-*"*ville*, the Marquis of *Dorset*, Earl of *Worcester*, "with five Cardinals, and a prodigious Number of "Persons of all Ranks assisted at this Entry."

Makes her publick Entry into Paris.

In this Manner was the Queen received into *Paris*, being first conducted into the Cathedral, and from thence into the Palace, where *Lewis* the XIIth waited for her with Impatience, and the Evening was closed with the accustomed Ceremonies of Feasting, all sorts of Musick, and Dancing.

The next Day, being the 5th of *November*, she was crowned Queen of *France*.

And crowned Queen of France.

Francis, Duke *de Valois*, caused Justs and Tournaments to be proclaimed at *Paris*, in Honour of this Marriage and Coronation, at which the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorset* and other Men of Quality were present.

In a Letter from the Marquis of *Dorset*, to Archbishop *Wolsey*, he gives him an Account of what passed at the Justs in *France*, as follows:

Marquis of Dorset's *Letter to* Wolsey.

The

" The *French* highly commendeth my Lord of " *Suffolk*, and ſay, that no Chriſtian Prince has two " ſuch Servants as we two, both for Peace and War, " in Field and Council. My Lord of *Suffolk* and I " ran three Days and loſt nothing. On *Saturday*, the " 18th of *Nov.* the Tournay and Courſe in the Field " began; my Lord of *Suffolk* and I ran the 1ſt Day " ourſelves; then put our Aids to it, becauſe there " were no Noblemen to run with us. On the 21ſt " the Fighting on foot began, when they put an " *Almain*, that never came into the Field before, " againſt my Lord of *Suffolk*, to have put us to " ſhame, but could not." Upon this Occaſion the *French* King ſaid to his Queen, " That the Lords " of *Dorſet* and *Suffolk* had ſhamed all *France*, and " carried away the Prize." Soon after this Tournament the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Worceſter*, and other *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen returned Home.

As ſoon as *Lewis* had received and married the Princeſs *Mary*, he repeated by many Letters, (beſides thoſe we have ſpoke of) how highly he was obliged to *Wolſey*, through the whole Negotiation, both for the concluding a Peace between *England* and *France*, and compleating this Marriage, generally prefacing his Letters with theſe Word, *My Lord of* York, *and very good Friend.*

It was obſerved, that the *French* ſo gazed at their new Queen's Beauty, that they could not caſt their Eyes from her attractive Rays, nor could the King be ſatisfied with any other Object. One of their Hiſtorians ſays, " That he gave himſelf over too " much to behold her moſt admirable Beauty, not " conſidering her Youth (being but eighteen) and " his own weak decayed Body."

Notwithſtanding all this, the Queen was ſoon made uneaſy, for, quickly after the Marriage Ceremony and Coronation were performed, her Retinue, which ſhe brought

brought from *England*, were diſmiſſed, except a few Officers and Attendants, amongſt whom was *Anna Bulleyn*. Of this ſhe complains in a Letter to Archbiſhop *Wolſey*; wherein ſhe informs him, "The Day "I was married my Servants were diſcharged, which "gave me no ſmall Uneaſineſs; I wiſh inſtead "of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who has been too con- "deſcending to the *French*, your Grace had been en- "truſted to conduct me to *France*.

The Pope, Maximilian *and* Ferdinand *endeavour to prevent the Peace between* England *and* France.

When the Pope, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand* heard, that *Henry* and *Lewis* were in Treaty, without conſulting either of them, they uſed all imaginable Pains to obſtruct it, being fully convinced that ſuch a Juncture would turn to their Prejudice, by throwing the Burthen of the War upon them: And though, at the Cloſe of the laſt Year, *Leo* the Xth ſent to perſuade *Henry* to a Peace with that King, when he ſaw it upon the Point of being concluded, he ſorely repented his Advice; and, to croſs the Negotiation at *London* as much as he could, he propoſed a new League with the King of *France*. *Lewis* took a Fortnight to give him an Anſwer, during which time he puſhed on his Negotiations with *England*: But the Pope, not having Patience to ſtay ſo long, concluded a defenſive League with old *Ferdinand* for a Year only, thinking, in that Time, he ſhould better ſee what turn the Affairs of *Europe* might take, principally in reſpect to *France* and *England*.

In ſhort, the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Emperor, would at any rate have broke the Negotiation, which the two latter attempted at by ſending to *Lewis* their Conſent in form, for the Marriage of *Charles* of *Auſtria*, Grandſon to the Emperor, with *Renee*, Daughter of *France*: And *Ferdinand* went farther, he offered to aſſiſt *Lewis* to re-conquer *Milan*. But all would not do, for they had the Mortification

to

to hear, not only that *England* had made up her Differences with *France*, but that neither of them were ſo much as mentioned in the Treaty of *London*.

Laſt Year *Henry* concluded a Treaty with *Maximilian*, and agreed to pay him a conſiderable Sum of Money; but this Year we find no notice taken of it, the King now growing almoſt as cunning as his Allies, thinking it proper to keep his Caſh at home, and ſlight them, as they had ſlighted him. However, both *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* feigned to be extremely pleaſed with the Peace, though very likely in their Hearts were exceedingly vexed.

Leo's Artifice.

It was now expected that the King of *France*, being freed from the War with *England*, would attempt to recover *Genoa* and *Milan*, and the Pope was ſo far perſuaded of it, that he wrote to exhort him to that Expedition, though he at the ſame time uſed all Endeavours to break his Meaſures, by ſetting on foot again a Treaty between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, but to no purpoſe; for the Republick, thinking he was not in earneſt, made this uſe of it, to inform *Lewis* what his Holineſs was driving at. In ſhort, before a new War could be rekindled in the *Milaneſe*, *Lewis* expired, *January* the 1ſt, amidſt his long-wiſhed for Bliſſes, the Enjoyment of ſo fair a Lady.

Lewis the XIIth's *Death and Character.*

Dr. *Fiddes* takes notice, "That this Prince, in the "courſe of his Reign, had a Mixture of good and "ill Fortune, and, conſidered in his perſonal Character, "(though he had ſome Failures) was one of the "greateſt Men of the Age wherein he lived; his "Courage and Spirit animated him to great Un-"dertakings, in the Proſecution of which he was vi-"gilant and active; he had a martial Genius, an "undaunted Heart, and a politick Head. He had not "only the Pope, the Emperor, *England*, *Spain*, and "the *Swiſs* at once againſt him, but the Charge of

" ſupporting an unhappy dethroned King, * who " brought him no other Aſſiſtance than the Juſtice " of his Cauſe. Under all theſe Difficulties *Lewis* " the XIIth found Means to diſſolve the formidable " League againſt him, and he had the Satisfaction " to re-eſtabliſh his Affairs, and to put them upon " a good footing before his Death;" which happened 80 Days after the Completion of his Marriage, leaving behind him no Iſſue Male: But that Eſteem among his Subjects, for his Care not to oppreſs them with Impoſitions longer than his Neceſſities required, gained him the Name of *Father of his People*; and his Memory is now ſo highly reverenced in *France*, that a celebrated Writer † of that Nation ſays, " The " Affection of *Lewis* the XIIth for his People will " be had in Remembrance as long as *France* endures:" And *Coſtar* declaims, " Our *Lewis* the XIIth, tho' he " well deſerved the Title of *Father of his People*, " was he not brought upon the Stage in his good " City of *Paris*, and repreſented as an inſatiable Miſer, " who drank in a great gold Goblet, without being " able to quench his unreaſonable Thirſt? yet he prai- " ſed the Invention, and made himſelf merry with it, " and perhaps was glad that his Love of Riches, " which had never given the leaſt of his Sub- " jects occaſion to weep, furniſhed them with Mat- " ter of Laughter and agreeable Diverſion." Here we plainly perceive, that *Lewis* was ſo far from reſenting the Freedom that ſome of his Subjects had taken with his Character, that he made himſelf as merry as themſelves with what they exhibited ſeemingly againſt him.

Father *Daniel* obſerves, " That the King died at " *Paris*, in the 54th Year of his Age, and the 17th " of his Reign; and that Hiſtory ſpeaks of *Lewis* " as a Prince the beſt qualified for a Kingdom that " ever

* Of *Navarre*. † Monſ. *Voltaire*.

" ever governed, for Valour, Prudence, Application,
" and Judgment. Beſides his other Virtue he had
" Piety; he was a politick Prince, but withal a
" generous and Chriſtian Governor; an Enemy to
" falſe and perfidious Dealings, notwithſtanding the
" bad Examples of the Emperor and the King of
" *Spain*, who, though ſeveral times his Allies, were
" in the bottom his mortal Enemies. In a Word,
" there are few Princes to be met with in Hiſtory,
" that have equaled him in Royal Virtues, or have
" ſet upon a Throne with leſs Faults."

Affairs of Scotland. James *the* V*th*.

The fatal Overthrow of the late King, with the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, at *Flodden-field*, filled the Remnant of the State not only with great Sorrow, but Amazement and Perplexity; for, by this unfortunate Blow, they expected nothing leſs than that the Victor's Arms would follow them, which might end in the total Ruin of the Kingdom. However, their Fears were ſoon over on that Head, by reaſon the *Engliſh*, after the Battle, purſued them no farther; ſo that the Winter was ſpent in Mourning, and performing their laſt Duties to their ſlain Fathers, Brothers, Kinſmen, and Friends. But, after their Grief was a little aſſuaged, the Remainder of the Peers aſſembled at *Sterling* for proclaiming the late King's only Son their Sovereign, by the Name of *James* the Vth, then not two Years old, and declaring Queen *Margaret* Regent, according to the Directions of her late Huſband's Will. 1514.

Her Majeſty's firſt Act of Government was to write to her Brother *Henry* the VIIIth to the following Effect: " That ſhe hoped he would have Compaſſion
" upon the Tears and Prayers of an inconſola-
" ble Widow, and his Siſter; of an Orphan, and his
" Nephew; and that he would not only ceaſe pur-
" ſuing the War againſt *Scotland*, but have the Good-

" neſs to defend her and her Infant Son againſt all " Enemies foreign and domeſtick."

To which *Henry* generouſly anſwered: " That with " the Peaceable he would make Peace, and with the " Froward and Turbulent, War. If the *Scots* would " live peaceably they ſhould have it for his Part; that, " if they would rather fight, he would not refuſe " them. That her Huſband, the King's Father, by " his own indiſcrete Raſhneſs, and Kindneſs to *France*, " was the Occaſion of his own Ruin, and he ſtill regret- " ted his Faults and Heat: For his Part he was willing " to prohibit all Hoſtilities againſt the *Scotch*, and " grant them a Truce for a Year and a Day."

The Queen, upon the Receipt of this Letter, agreed to what the King her Brother propoſed; ſo that ſhe earneſtly ſet to work to reſtore the Diſorders that the Country was fallen into. The Guard of the Borders was committed to the care of *John Johnſton*,* a Gentleman of great Courage and Spirit, who, by his Vigilance, kept Matters in that Quarter much quieter than they had hitherto been.

Affairs of Ireland. 1514.

The Earl of *Kildare*† was ſo well pleaſed with the Succeſs which attended his former Expedition, that, after he had made ſuch Preparations as a new Expedition ſeemed to require, he begun his March in *Auguſt*, 1513, againſt the noted Rebels *Ely* and *Carol*; but at *Athy* he fell ſick, and from thence was removed to *Kildare*, where, on the 3d of *September*, he died, and was buried in *Chriſt-Church*, *Dublin*, to which he had been a liberal Benefactor, as before related. Thus were the future Deſigns of this Lord defeated even in the midſt of his Career.

Ge-

* The *Johnſton's* are a great, antient, and warlike Family; and from this Gentleman the Right Honourable *George*, Marquis of *Annandale*, is deſcended.

† From this great Man, being one of the moſt antient Families in *Europe*, the preſent Right Honourable *Robert*, Earl of *Kildare*, is deſcended.

Gerard, Earl of *Kildare*, and Lord Treaſurer, upon his Death, took upon himſelf the Government of *Ireland*, as Lord Juſtice, (being empowered by an Act of Parliament, made in the 10th of *Henry* the VIIth) in Vertue of his Place of Treaſurer. But it ſeems, 32 *Hen.* VIII. there was a Statute made, entitled, *An Act for the Electing of the Lord Juſtice*, which reſtrained the Council from electing any one but an *Engliſhman* born, and not in Orders.

The Lord *Slane*† was, upon this Remove, made Lord High Treaſurer, and Sir *William Crompton*, Lord Chancellor. Whilſt theſe Matters were ſettling *Daniel Mac-William*, with a Party of *Wild Iriſh* under his Command, took the Caſtle of *Dunline*; nor did the reſt of the *Wild Iriſh* find any Oppoſition during the Winter, inſomuch that they deſtroyed and ravaged the Country where-ever they came.

The beginning of the Year 1514, the valiant Earl of *Kildare*, who was Heir to his Father's Courage as well as his Honours, grew impatient at the Inſolence of theſe Rebels, and in particular of *O More* and *O Reyly*; therefore reſolved to attack them ſucceſſively. He begun with *O More*, and purſued him ſome Miles into the Country, and beat that Rebel and his Party into the Woods; which being done, he next went and took the Caſtle of *Cavan*, and, having killed *O Reyly*, and many of his Followers, he chaſed the Remainder into their inacceſſable ſtrong Holds, and there burnt and deſtroyed them; then returned to *Dublin* his Men being loaded with Booty. His Zeal for his Majeſty's Service was extremely well received by the King and his *Engliſh* Subjects; of which Archbiſhop *Wolſey* took care to let *Kildare* know, and it was no little Encouragement for him ſtill to exert himſelf againſt the Enemies

† From this Nobleman the preſent Right Honourable *Fleming*, Lord *Slane*, is deſcended.

nemies to the Peace of his Country: And here we ſhall conclude the Year 1514.

Affairs of France. *Francis the Iſt.* 1515.

THE Death of *Lewis* the XIIth, which ended the laſt Year's Tranſactions, made way for the Succeſſion of *Francis*, Duke of *Valois*, or, as ſome called him, Count *de Angouleſme*, who was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities proper to make a great Monarch; in Temper mild, eaſy of Acceſs, liberal and magnificent in all Things; of a comely handſome Perſon, quick Wit, true in Judgment, ſtout, undaunted in Danger, indefatigable in Undertakings, conſtant in ill Fortune, a Lover of Learning, and had a great Value for learned Men: So that, with all theſe great Talents, it was thought he would have carried his Conqueſts far and near.

Henry *the* VIIIth *writes to the Queen of* France.

Lewis the XIIth's Queen Dowager, on the Death of the King, declared, that ſhe would return to *England*. In the mean time *Henry*, her Brother, ſent a ſpecial Meſſenger to her Majeſty, with Letters of Condolance and Comfort; and particularly adviſed her not to enter into any new Contract of Marriage without his Knowledge and Conſent.

Archbiſhop *Wolſey* wrote to her on the ſame Subject, and concluded his Letter with entreating her Majeſty to conform herſelf to the King's Advice.

Her remarkable Anſwer.

The Queen's Anſwer was this: "She "proteſted, that if the King would "have her marry in any Place, ſave "where her Mind was, ſhe would ſhut herſelf up in "ſome Religious Houſe."

This Letter made ſome Impreſſion upon the King; and, as the Queen had declared her Reſolution to return to *England*, he was pleaſed to ſend the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Dr. *Weſt* to the *French* Court,

Court, not only to congratulate the new King upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, but to attend and conduct the Royal Widow to *England*, in a Manner becoming her Dignity: And upon their Arrival, they were introduced to his Majeſty, where they performed the Commiſſion they were charged with, and were received very graciouſly.

Henry ſends Ambaſſadors to Compliment the King of France.

The Duke had not long attended upon this beautiful Queen, before he obſerved, that ſhe ſtill retained her former Affection for him; and, as they frequently converſed together, ſhe at laſt took Occaſion to tell him, "That the Happineſs of the Marriage-ſtate "conſiſted not ſo much in great Dignities, as in the "Love and Affection the Parties had for each other; "and that, if ever ſhe married again, ſhe would mar-"ry where her Love was, or continue ſingle the Re-"mainder of her Life." Theſe Hints convinced him, that he would be wanting to himſelf, if he neglected to carry ſo fair a Prize; yet he conſidered the great Diſtance, between a Sovereign Princeſs and a Subject, which made him at Times fearful of Succeſs, and deterred him from declaring that ſecret Affection he had all along borne for this amiable Princeſs.

The Queen however was reſolved (though the Duke had not yet made her ſuitable Returns for the Affection ſhe had partly diſcovered for him) to accompliſh her Deſire, and accordingly waited on the *French* King, and frankly diſcloſed her Mind to him, *viz.* "That her Deſign was nothing leſs than to "marry the Duke of *Suffolk*, and conjured him to "aſſiſt her in perfecting her Wiſhes." His Majeſty, without Heſitation, readily promiſed to aſſiſt her in what ſhe requeſted.

Some Days after this Interview, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were conducted in great State to a publick Audience; when the Ceremony was over, and they

retiring

retiring from his Majeſty's Preſence, he was pleaſed to take the Duke of *Suffolk* into his Bed-chamber, where he expreſſed the high perſonal Eſteem and Reſpect he had for him; and, in the turn of Diſcourſe, told the Duke, "It was reported he was come over to "marry the Queen of *France*, his Maſter's Siſter." *Suffolk*, with great Submiſſion, ſeemed to deny it; whereto the King rejoined, "I will be plain with "you, my Lord Duke, the Queen herſelf has inform-"ed me of it, and deſired my Aſſiſtance, which I "have promiſed, upon the Veracity of a King, and "I repeat the ſame to you." The Duke thanked his Majeſty for his Kindneſs, and made no longer a Secret of his Affection for the Queen; but added, "If this Matter ſhould be known, and come to the Knowledge of my Royal Maſter, I ſhall be undone." *Francis* pleaſantly anſwered, "Let that alone to me; for I "and the Queen ſhall ſo ſollicit your Maſter, that he "ſhall be content:" And with many other kind Expreſſions, his Majeſty diſmiſſed him.

Suffolk's *Letter to* Wolſey.

As Archbiſhop *Wolſey* had, upon ſeveral Occaſions, ſhewed himſelf the common Friend both of the Queen and *Suffolk*, the Duke in a Letter laid before him the Subſtance of what paſſed at, and after the Audience, concluding it in the following Words:

"I cannot but communicate to you, my Lord of "*York*, what has paſſed on this Occaſion, becauſe I "intend to hide nothing from you, and earneſtly de-"ſire your ſpeedy Advice, and whether you intend "to inform the King of this Letter? And I thank "God, ſaid he, that he, whom I feared moſt, is moſt "willing to be an Author of this Act himſelf, and "to be an Advocate for me to the King, my Ma-"ſter."

Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Wolſey* broke the Matter to the King, and uſed all his Intereſt to ſoften his Sovereign's Anger. At firſt, reſolute *Henry* expreſſed

Henry expreſſed his great Diſpleaſure at what was tranſacting in *France*; but, by gentle Degrees, his Majeſty's Reſentment abated; which, when *Wolſey* found, he adviſed the Duke to write in ſoft Strains to the King, which he accordingly did, and it was well received. The Queen likewiſe wrote ſtrenuouſly to her Brother on this pleaſing Subject, and put him in mind of his Promiſe, and concluded her Letter in this Manner: "That your Grace well knows what *I did*, as "to my firſt Marriage, was for *your Pleaſure*; and "now, I truſt, you will ſuffer me to do what *I like*."

By theſe different Proceedings Matters looked with a favourable Aſpect, and nothing ſeemed to remain but the Marriage and Conſummation. For the lovely Queen at once declared to the Duke, "That, unleſs he reſolved to marry her within four Days, "ſhe would never have him." The Duke was not wanting on his Part, for he immediately married her privately, in *March*, about two Months after the Death of *Lewis* her Spouſe. *The Duke and Queen marry.*

As the Queen's Marriage with the Duke was privately celebrated in *France*, unknown to the King, her Brother, ſhe wrote him a Letter, and took the Fault wholly upon herſelf, juſtifying the Duke, her Huſband, by declaring, "That ſhe had limited him to the Space "of four Days, at the ſame Time proteſting, that unleſs he came to a Reſolution within that Space, he "muſt deſpair in his Pretenſions; which was the Reaſon that induced the Duke privately to marry her." *

But the Queen, not immediately receiving an Anſwer to this Letter, the Duke writ to *Wolſey*, wherein,

* Some of the modern Fair, perhaps, may condemn this Princeſs's great Freedom on this Occaſion; but we cannot. Our Opinion is, that their Sex have as much Right to a candid Declaration of their Affection as the Men, and may and can deliver it with all the Softneſs and Modeſty requiſite: Nay, we think it much more generous and eligible, than to want a tedious, toying (and oftentimes wanton) Courtſhip, ſo called.

among other Acknowledgments, he confeſſes, "That, "next to God and the King, he owes to him all the "Honours that had attended him; and, in the Con- "cluſion, expreſſes his Fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, "in reſpect to his Marriage, and earneſtly begs him "to mediate in his Favour."

The Archbiſhop, in Anſwer to this Letter, ſhewed both the Queen and the Duke the Steps he had taken, in order to ſoften the King's Diſpleaſure, intimating, "That there was great Likelihood of Succeſs; adviſing "them to write to his Majeſty in the moſt ſubmiſſive "Stile, which he did not in the leaſt doubt would have "a good Effect."

The Queen and Duke purſued *Wolſey*'s Advice, and no ſooner did the King receive their Letters, but he expreſſed himſelf willing to forgive them, and gave his Conſent, that the Duke and Queen ſhould return to *England*; who, being informed thereof, teſtified, by particular Letters to *Wolſey*, the grateful Senſe they had of his Friendſhip, and immediately cauſed Preparations to be made for their Voyage to *England*.

Affairs of England. 1515.

On the 16th of *April*, after they had taken a ſuitable Leave of the *French* Court, they departed from *Paris*, attended by all the *Engliſh* in their Retinue (except *Anna Bulleyn*, who remained in *France*); on the 2d of *May* they landed in *England*, and ſoon arrived at Court; when they had made proper Submiſſion to the King, they were received into Favour, and, on the 13th of the ſame Month, they were publickly married at *Greenwich*, in the Preſence of his Majeſty, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and a great Concourſe of the Nobility and Gentry, and then received the Compliments and Congratulations upon the happy Union. The Account the learned Biſhop *Burnet* gives us of the Duke* is, "That he never meddled much in Buſineſs;

* The Duke had Iſſue by Queen *Mary* of *France* (*Henry* the VIIIth's youngeſt Siſter) two Sons, *Henry* and *Charles*, who

" Buſineſs; and, by all that appears, he was a better " Courtier than Stateſman. "

The Queen brought over with her the Value of 200,000 Crowns in Jewels, Plate, and Tapeſtry, which ſhe was intituled to by Virtue of the Treaty made on her Marriage with *Lewis* the XIIth, amongſt which was a Diamond, called *le Mirroir de Naples*, which King *Francis* would have purchaſed at any Rate.

Francis *the Iſt ſends an Ambaſſador to* Henry.

About this Time *Francis* the Iſt ſent an Ambaſſador to *England*, it being ſtipulated in the former Treaty, that the Succeſſor of him that died firſt was to acquaint the other, whether he deſigned to prolong the Time of the Alliance; and therefore the End of this Ambaſſy was, to requeſt a Renewal thereof, and

died, in the Year 1550, of the *Sweating* Sickneſs, at *Cambridge*, within twelve Hours of each other; and two Daughters, the Ladies *Frances* and *Eleanor*. (See *Dugd. Bar.* Vol. II. p. 300.) The eldeſt, *Frances*, married *Henry Grey*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, afterwards created Duke of *Suffolk*. It is ſaid, the principal Noblemen and Ladies that ſprung from the Lady *Frances*, Viſcounteſs of *Weymouth*, who had the Honour to be deſcended from this illuſtrious Branch of the ſaid Queen and Duke's Family, are the preſent Right Honourable *Thomas*, Earl of *Aileſbury*, and his Aunt, the Counteſs of *Cardigan*; the late Earl of *Winchelſea*'s Siſter, and the Earl himſelf, whoſe Succeſſor is the preſent Right Honourable *Daniel*, Earl of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, *&c.* whoſe Siſter, the Lady *Betty Finch*, married the eminent Lawyer, and excellent Orator, the Honourable *William Murray*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Sollicitor General. *Eleanor*, the youngeſt Daughter, of the ſaid Queen and Duke, married *Henry*, Lord *Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, which Title is extinct: But the illuſtrious Name of *Clifford* will never die, in regard the Blood of that noble Houſe now runs in the Veins of the preſent Right Honourable *Richard Boyle*, Earl of *Burlington*, *&c.* who will ever be renowned for his popular Spirit, in encouraging all Liberal Arts and Sciences, particularly *Architecture*, in which he is allowed to have a moſt ſublime Taſte; and it may be truly ſaid of this Nobleman, that he has been bleſt with Riches, and a Soul to enjoy it. The Right Honourable *Charles Boyle*, Earl of *Orrery*, is of this noble Family; as was alſo the late Lord *Shannon*. In ſhort, they have, for ſeveral Generations, ſhone as well in the *Senatorial* as *Martial* Capacity.

to give a new Bond for the Payment of the Money, which *Lewis*, the former King, had undertaken. This Matter being ſettled, a Treaty was ſigned the 5th of *April*, without any Variation from the former, other than in Point of Form, and including the young King of *Scotland* in it.

The Proceedings of the 5th Parliament.

On the 5th of *February* the Parliament met, at which Time Biſhop *Wolſey* took his Seat in the Houſe of Lords, as Archbiſhop of *York*; but, as the Nation was in profound Tranquillity, both Houſes were ſolely employed in Domeſtick Affairs, and after they had paſſed theſe ſeveral Acts,* they broke up.

Arch-

* 1. To direct, before Exigents upon Outlawries ſhall be awarded into Counties, where the Party does not reſide, that Proclamation ſhall be firſt made in the County by the Sheriff, where the Party actually reſides, in order that he or ſhe may have Notice of it.

2. Imported, that, whereas divers Felons and Murderers did, upon ſeveral feigned and untrue Surmiſes, get themſelves removed to the *King's-Bench*, and could not, by Order of Law, be remitted and ſent down to the Juſtices of Gaol-Delivery; and that therefore, for the Future, the Juſtices of the *King's-Bench* ſhould have full Power and Authority to remand and ſend down the Bodies and Indictments of all Felons and Murderers into the County, where the Felony or Murder was committed.

3. Farther Directions about the making of Woollen Cloths in *Devonſhire*.

4. To puniſh Deceits in making Woollen Cloths, with an Exception, not to extend to certain Cloths made in *Devonſhire*, *Cornwal*, *Wales*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Cheſhire*.

5. To make ſecond Letters Patents void, where there is no Mention of the firſt.

6. That no Member of the Houſe of Commons ſhall depart from the Parliament before the End of the Seſſion, without Licence firſt obtained of the Houſe, and the Licence to be entered upon Record by the Clerk of the Parliament, under Penalty of loſing their Stipend.

'Twas ſaid, that what gave Riſe to this laſt Act, was, that it frequently happened, towards the Cloſe of a Seſſion, that ſeveral Members, true Lovers of their Country, were wont to return home, apprehending that all Matters of Moment were then gone through; which thoſe that were otherwiſe diſpoſed took Advantage of, and got ſome Bills paſs'd that would not probably have been propoſed in a full Houſe.

New

Archbiſhop *Wolſey* took Care to ſollicit the King, to preſerve to the Church of *Tournay* their antient Privileges, in which he ſucceeded ſo much to the Satisfaction of the Chapter, that they wiſhed for an Oportunity of teſtifying how much they were obliged by this great Favour; and this they were not long without: For, ſhortly after, the Archbiſhop recommended a young Student

Affairs relating to Tournay.

Now we are ſpeaking of Paſſing of *Acts of Parliament*, let us ſay a few Words of the Laws, and of the Members who are a material Part of our Conſtitution, in reſpect to the making them. The reverend and learned Mr. *Hooker* remarks of the Law, 'That there 'can be no leſs acknowledged of 'it, than that, 1. Her Seat is the 'Boſom of God: 2. Her Voice 'is the Harmony of the World: '3. All Things in Heaven and 'Earth do her Homage; the very leaſt, as feeling her Care, 'and the greateſt, as not exempt 'from her Power. Both Angels 'and Men, and Creatures of 'what Condition ſoever, tho' 'each in different Sort and Manner, yet all with uniform Conſent admiring her, as the Mother 'of their Peace and Joy.'

As the *Law* is ſacred, what Care ought we not to take in electing thoſe who may be called the *Law-makers*; for the Caſe is not now as formerly. *Parliaments* rarely continued above *One Seſſions*, 'till towards the latter End of *Henry* the VIIIth's Time; and when he found it anſwerable to his Views, to have a long Acquaintance with the Repreſentatives of his People, many Members found a *ſenſible* Conveniency in their Service; who therefore, on the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and calling a new one, ſpared no Expence to get re-elected: Which ſeems to be the Beginning of the Crown's tampering with the Sheet-anchor of the People's *Freedom*, by finding out *Ways* and *Means* to make their *Repreſentatives*, or *Truſtees*, more than uſeful to it. As to the *Electors*, or Receivers of *Bribes*, or *Favours*, (which is almoſt the ſame thing) from the Parties they elect on ſuch Terms, the old *Engliſh* Proverb will certainly be verified on them, *That Man that buys dear, cannot live by ſelling cheap*. Free Elections are the Life and Soul of our Conſtitution, which the preſent Right Honourable the *Speaker* * of the Honourable *Houſe of Commons* hath fully evinced to us, in his memorable Speech from the Chair, on the 23d Day of *January*, 1741, when, according to Order, he reprimanded three offending Juſtices of the Peace, on their Knees at the Bar of the ſaid Houſe, for *unwarrantably countenancing an armed Force, to ſupport an Election*; which carries in it ſo much of the noble Spirit of true Liberty, we cannot omit inſerting Part of it here; and we doubt not but it

* *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Surry*.

dent to the Chapter, to be preferred to ſome Church-Benefice, which they readily complied with; and, to his Letter of Recommendation, returned him for Anſwer, "That they were exceeding glad of a Letter "from his Grace, and ſo much the more, that they "had thereby the Opportunity they had long ſought "for, of expreſſing their high Reſpect for his Grace, "not that they could repay any thing anſwerable to "his

it will make his Name venerable to lateſt Poſterity. His Words are theſe:

'I cannot better deſcribe to 'you the Nature of this Offence 'you have been guilty of, than 'in the Words of the Reſolution 'this Houſe came to, upon their 'Examination into that Matter, 'which are,

"That the Preſence of a re-"gular Body of armed "Soldiers, at an Elec-"tion of Members to "ſerve in Parliament, "is an high Infringe-"ment of the Liber-"ties of the Subject, a "manifeſt Violation of "the Freedom of Elec-"tions, and an open "Defiance of the Laws "and Conſtitution of this "Kingdom."

'And it is impoſſible, if you 'well conſider the Terms of this 'Reſolution, but that you muſt 'have in your Breaſts the deep-'eſt Sorrow and Remorſe for this 'raſh Act of yours; which, if it 'had not been animadverted up-'on, might have given the moſt 'dangerous Wound to the Con-'ſtitution of this Free Country, 'that perhaps it had ever felt.— 'This Country, Free, becauſe 'this Houſe is ſo; which this 'Houſe can never be, but from 'the Freedom of Elections to it: 'And, amidſt the too many Ways 'for violating That, none can 'be more pernicious, becauſe 'none more quick, deciſive and 'permanent, than what you 'might unhappily have ſet a 'Precedent for, and which might 'have grown to an Extremity, 'under the ſpecious and ready 'Pretences of Fears and Neceſſi-'ty, that ſuperſede all Law; a 'Precedent, that would have re-'ceived an Authority from the 'Place* it began in.—The Seat 'of the Government and Legiſ-'lature of this Kingdom.

'Neceſſity, which is to take 'Place of Law, muſt be left to 'the Circumſtances of every par-'ticular Caſe. The Act muſt be 'preſumed to be wrong, inquir-'ed into as ſuch, and excuſed 'only by the cleareſt Proofs, that 'the Neceſſity of it was real.

'What you have done, is a-'gainſt one of the moſt eſſential 'Parts of the Law of the King-'dom. Has any real Neceſſity 'been ſhown for it? There 'might be Fears; there might 'be ſome Danger; but did you 'try the Strength of the Law to 'diſpel thoſe Fears, and remove

* City and Liberty of *Weſtminſter*.

that

" his Benefits towards them; but as it was fit to de-
" clare in ſome ſort their Gratitude for his paternal
" Care, and to acknowledge the extraordinary Ho-
" nour, and ſingular Obſervance they had to the ſame,
" they unanimouſly conſented to his Requeſt, and
" yielded to him whatever he deſired, there being
" nothing that they would not chearfully do for his
" Sake."

Some time after the Canons received a Sum of Money, part whereof Dr. *Sampſon* apprehended belonged to his Maſter, in right of his Biſhoprick, and claimed it accordingly; but the Canons being of a different

' that Danger? Did you make
' uſe of thoſe Powers the Law
' has inveſted you with, as Civil
' Magiſtrates, for the Preſerva-
' tion of the Publick Peace? No
' —you deſerted all That; and
' wantonly, I hope inadverdent-
' ly, reſorted to that Force, the
' moſt unnatural of all o-
' thers, in all reſpects, to that
' Cauſe and Buſineſs you were
' then attending, and for the
' Freedom of which every *Bri-*
' *tain* ought to be ready almoſt
' to ſuffer any thing — More
' might be ſaid—But you have
' acknowledged your Offence,
' and have aſked Pardon for it.
' This has diſpoſed the Houſe
' to Lenity: Uſe it not to leſſen
' the Senſe of your Crime; but
' to raiſe in your Hearts that
' Senſe of Gratitude you owe to
' the Houſe, for the gentle Treat-
' ment you have met with on
' this Occaſion: In Expectation
' of which you are diſcharged,
' paying your Fees."

To this excellent Declaration, we ſhall ſubjoin a few Lines from the Author of *Lex Parliamentaria*.

' There's nothing ought to be
' ſo dear to the Commons of
' *Great Britain*, as a *Free* Par-
' liament, that is, a Houſe of
' Commons every way free and
' independent of the Lords, Mi-
' niſtry, *&c.* *Free* in their Per-
' ſons, *Free* in their Eſtates, *Free*
' in their Returns, *Free* in their
' Aſſembling, *Free* in their
' Speeches, Debates, and Deter-
' minations, *Free* to complain of
' Offenders, *Free* in their Proſe-
' cution for Offences, and there-
' in *Free* from the Fear or In-
' fluence of others, how great
' ſoever, *Free* to guard againſt
' the Incroachments of Arbitra-
' ry Power, *Free* to preſerve the
' Liberties and Properties of the
' Subjects, and yet *Free* to part
' with a Share of thoſe Proper-
' ties, when neceſſary, for the
' Service of the Publick:" And conclude with this Remark, from the *Rolls of Parliam.* in *Henry* the VIth's Time, ' Complaints and
' Subſidies belong to the Com-
' mons, Judgment to the Lords,
' and Redreſs is the Glory of the
' Crown; which we hope will be
' preſerved to the End of Time.

different Opinion, to prevent any Miſunderſtanding with their Biſhop, they ſent him a Letter to ſignify,

" That they had ſhewed the learned Doctor, his " Vicar-general, that that Money, tho' paid into their " Treaſury, belonged not to his Grace, but was particu- " larly ſet apart for the Fabrick of the Church, and " other religious Uſes, which had been granted to " their Church by the Apoſtolical Decree; but pro- " miſed his Grace, that whatever could be expected " from them, his moſt faithful Beads-men, ſhould be " performed; for that his Name and Dignity was " moſt dear to them, to whom they were for many " Reaſons bound; that thro' whoſe Care the Liber- " ties of their Church were by the King's Gift pre- " ſerved and defended, and had ſuch Governors and " Rectors as guarded them and their Privileges; and " earneſtly requeſted his Grace to continue his Patro- " nage and Defence of their Church; praying Almigh- " ty God to preſerve their moſt victorious King, and " their Biſhop with proſperous Succeſs."

We find when Dr. *Sampſon* went in Biſhop *Wolſey*'s Name, into certain Towns in *Flanders*, belonging to this Dioceſs, in order to get in the Biſhop's Dues, he found but odd Treatment from the Officers of the Town. The Biſhop Elect, as he was then called, claiming the Property of what *Sampſon* endeavoured to collect. Of this he wrote to his Lord, and, in the Concluſion of his Letter, ſays, " That, if his Grace " would quietly enjoy this Adminiſtration, he muſt " get the *French* King to write to his Biſhop, not to " oppoſe; for if the Officers ſaw the *French* King's " Letters in his Favour they would immediately obey: " Otherwiſe, ſhould his Grace follow the Proceſs of " the Law, and the Biſhop elect defend his Poſſeſ- " ſion, it might be attended with infinite Inconveni- " ency to his Grace: And therefore, as they, the Offi- " cers, have deſired to have a Day of Reſpite, to adviſe " with the Biſhop elect, he had granted it till St.

Martin's

" *Martin*'s Day, and hoped by that time the *French* " King would cauſe the Biſhop Elect to deſiſt, with- " out which it would be impoſſible for his Grace to " hold this Adminiſtration in any Peace.

Tho' Biſhop *Wolſey* had obtained the Pope's Brief, to confirm him in this Biſhoprick, yet the Officers, belonging to the Party of the Biſhop Elect, objected to certain Paſſages in the Brief: To which Dr. *Sampſon* replied, " That the Biſhop Elect's Abſence and " Deſertion of the Biſhoprick was ſufficient Cauſe to " juſtify what the Pope had been pleaſed to grant to " his Maſter." To this it was anſwered, " That what " the Biſhop Elect had done was in time of Neceſ- " ſity, for his own Safety, the City being in the " Hands of the *Engliſh*." Theſe Proceedings, *Sampſon*, by Letter, laid before the Biſhop, repeated his former Advice, and acquainted his Grace he would remain at *Bruges* for further Inſtructions.

During theſe Diſputes, Dr. *Sampſon* had a deal of Trouble, and was at great Expences; but the grateful Biſhop took care to reimburſe the one, and handſomely Recompence him for the other; for he forthwith ordered him a Supply of Money according to his Deſire, and ſoon after got the Doctor to be made one of the King's Chaplains, and Dean of St. *Stephen*'s, which paved the Way for many other Dignities and Places, as well as a Biſhoprick, which he in the Concluſion obtained, (as our Church Hiſtories teſtify) and arrived at laſt to be one of King *Henry*'s Privy Counſellers.

Dr. *Samſon* was ſo well ſatisfied with the Favours he received from his Patron, that in Return, he made him many handſome Preſents, one of which was a choice Piece of Tapeſtry, wherein was woven an exquiſite Figure of St. *George*: This Preſent Biſhop *Wolſey* received very kindly; and the Doctor often in Return expreſſed his great Satisfaction with his Patron's Favours, and frequently ſtiled him, *The Father of his Country*.

Whilſt *Sampſon* was thus buſy in endeavouring to procure the Revenues of *Tournay* Biſhoprick, *Adrian*, Biſhop of *Bath*, the King's Orator at *Rome*, out of mere Hatred to Biſhop *Wolſey*, ſuffered a Bull to be obtained in Favour of the *French* Biſhop, in order to reſtore him to the Biſhoprick, which made him much more troubleſome, for now, in a peremptory Manner, he demanded the Revenues, threatning to excommunicate all ſuch as refuſed to comply with his Demands, inaſmuch as the Bull was directed to all Chriſtian Princes, to aſſiſt him with their Forces, to put him into Poſſeſſion of this Biſhoprick, under pain of Excommunication.

Upon this, Dr. *Sampſon* wrote to the Archbiſhop, repreſenting, "That, if ſome effectual Care was not "ſpeedily taken, to ſuppreſs, or get the Bull ſet a-"ſide, it was impoſſible he could any longer be of "Service to his Grace in thoſe Parts."

Biſhop *Wolſey* was ſurprized at the Receipt of this Letter, ſince he had no Account from *Rome*, of any Sollicitation at that Time in Favour of the *French* Biſhop.

This Behaviour of the Court of *Rome* was highly reſented by the King, who, in a Letter to the Pope, aſſured him, "That his Troops would by no Means "think themſelves obliged to execute ſo unjuſt a Sen-"tence; declared the Pope's Proceedings to be con-"trary to the Laws of God or Man, and charged the "Biſhop of *Bath* not only with Negligence but Infi-"delity; and, in caſe he did not take care to pro-"cure a Revocation of the Bull, the Biſhop was "given to underſtand, that he ſhould be ſuperceded "by one who would have more Regard to the Truſt "repoſed in him." Then his Majeſty directed Biſhop *Wolſey* to apply to the Biſhop of *Worceſter* to get the Bull revoked, who ſhortly after obtained another Bull which ſuperceded the *French* Biſhop's. This laſt Bull had its deſired Effect, and Biſhop *Wol-*

ſey

ſey was ſoon after made eaſy in the Enjoyment of this Biſhoprick.

Proceedings of the ſixth Parliament.

The Parliament met again the 12th of *November*, but, as the laying before the Houſe the King's Reſolution, in Regard to *France*, was not ripe, there was no mention made of any Foreign Affairs: So that, after the paſſing this Law,* with others ſince expired or repealed, they broke up.

The Engliſh *Clergy hold a Synod.*

The *Engliſh* Clergy, in a Synod held at this Time, in Anſwer to the Pope, concerning his Demands of an extraordinary Subſidy, on Pretence of an apparent War with the *Turks*, alledged, that they were ſo exhauſted by the late War with *France*, at the Inſtance of *Julius* the IId, for the Defence of the Church, they were not now in a Condition to grant a new Subſidy; and that, beſides, by a Decree of the Council of *Conſtance, the Popes could lay no Impoſition on the Clergy without a general Council.*

When his Holineſs received this general Anſwer, he then thought proper to withdraw his Demand upon that learned Body, and they ſoon after broke up.

Biſhop Stanley's *Death, &c.*

In *April* died *James Stanley*, Dr. of Divinity, Biſhop of *Ely*, who was educated at *Oxford*, and made a Biſhop in the Year 1506, which he enjoyed about eight Years and a half, but made no great Figure. He was ſucceeded in this See, on the 7th of *October*, by *Nicholas Weſt*, Dean of *Windſor*, who was the Son of *John Weſt*, a Baker at *Putney*, where the Biſhop enlarged the

Biſhop Weſt's *Riſe, &c.*

* Directing how Rents and Services were to be recovered upon an Advowry, where the Parties had ſuffered a Recovery againſt them of their Lands, *&c.* for the Performance of their Wills, Jointures, and other Proviſions made by Deed; for which, before the paſſing this Act, his Majeſty's Subjects were without Remedy at the Common Law.

Church, by the Addition of a very beautiful Chapel, built of Freeſtone, Arched over, and curiouſly wrought. His firſt Education was at *Eaton*, from whence he was ſent to *King*'s College in *Cambridge*, where, upon a Quarrel with the Provoſt, about the Choice of a Porter, he ſet his Lodgings on Fire, for which he was expelled the College and Univerſity; but afterwards, making an Attonement for his firſt Error, he was received into the Univerſity again, and lived there many Years in great Eſtimation, till he arrived to his Biſhoprick, which he enjoyed to his Death, in the Year 1533, and was buried at *Ely*, who had been a great Benefactor to *King*'s College.

Biſhop Fox's *Endowments, &c.*

Fox, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was very much advanced in Years, and through his indefatigable Induſtry, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs, for a long Series of Years, his Health was very much impaired, particularly his Eye-ſight, which now greatly failed him, (and before his Death he was blind) he therefore thought proper to ſollicit, and accordingly obtained his Majeſty's Permiſſion to retire for a Time to his Dioceſan Palace to enjoy a pleaſant Retreat from the Noiſe of Buſineſs and Worldly Affairs: And this he did after he had taken a kind Leave of his old Friend and Chaplain, *Wolſey*, now Archbiſhop of *York*. Here he had not been long before he determined, by the Advice of his Friends, to Found a College.

His firſt Deſign was to have founded a Monaſtery, from which he was perſuaded by Biſhop *Oldham*. *As for Monaſteries* (ſays the Biſhop) *they have more already than they are like long to keep.* This Obſervation ſoon cauſed Biſhop *Fox* to change his Intention, and ſet about Founding *Corpus Chriſti* College, which he endowed with Poſſeſſions to the yearly Value of 401 *l.* 8 *s.* 11 *d.* and it has ſince produced many learned Men, and is now in a flouriſhing Condition.

In

D.r FOX
Bifhop of Winchefter.
N. Parr Sculp.

In the Year 1522 he was at the Expence of building a Free School near the Caſtle in *Taunton*, and a neat Houſe for the Schoolmaſter, of the like at *Grantham*, (where it was believed he was born) of Covering the Choir at *Winchester*, and the Preſbitery and Iſles adjoining; of making a new Vault; of new Glazing that Part of the Church; of building a Partition between the Preſbitery and the ſaid Iſles; and, finally, of moving the Bones of ſeveral Princes and Prelates, that were depoſited about the Cathedral, into handſome Monuments upon the Top of the new Partitions.

Biſhop Oldham's *Character*, &c.

It's ſaid, Biſhop *Oldham* was a Man of great Devotion; tho' ſomewhat rough in Speech, yet friendly in Deed and Action. He was remarkable for preſerving the Rights and Privileges of the Church, and for his Liberality to the Vicars and other Spiritual Men that officiated under him; and, tho' he was not much eſteemed for his Learning, he greatly encouraged it; built a fine Free School at *Manchester*, and had Intentions of enlarging *Exeter* College in *Oxford*, and of increaſing its Revenues: But being denied a Fellowſhip in the College, which he ſollicited on the Behalf of a Friend, it occaſioned him to change his Mind, and to beſtow that Money towards raiſing *Corpus Chriſti* College: So that he may be juſtly eſteemed one of its principal Benefactors.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Biſhop died under Excommunication, procured by the Abbot of *Taviſtock*; ſo that he remained unburied for a conſiderable time: But at laſt an Abſolution was procured from *Rome*, and then he was buried in a Chapel of his own Building, and a ſumptuous Monument was raiſed to his Memory by *Henry* the VIIIth.

Affairs of Scotland. 1515.

We left the young King's Mother, Queen *Margaret*, in Poſſeſſion of the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. *James* the Vth was the 105th King of *Scotland*, and,

tho'

tho' he was very young, the Nobility took care to get him crowned with the uſual Ceremony: But *Drummond* obſerves, "That the Government of a Woman "and a Child, over a People ever in Motion, Mutinous, and delighting in Change, could not long "ſubſiſt."

The firſt Diſorder in the Kingdom, aroſe from the Queen's marrying the Earl of *Angus*, which was no ſooner known, than the *Scotch* were reſolved to proceed to the Election of a new Regent, during the King's Minority. Some gave their Voices for the Earl of *Arran*, others propoſed the Duke of *Albany*, who was then in *France*.

The King of *England* no ſooner heard of it, than he ſent Letters to the Lords of *Scotland*, as he had before done to the *French* King, wherein he Remonſtrates how dangerous it would be for the State and the young King, if they ſhould make choice of the Duke of *Albany*. But the Lords did not regard *Henry*'s Remonſtrances, but elected the Duke of *Albany* Regent.

Alexander, Duke of *Albany*, hearing what had paſſed in *Scotland*, made Preparations to repair thither; tho' he was a good deal uneaſy that the King of *England* was ſo much concerned in the Tranſactions of *Scotland*, and fomented the Diſſentions that had ariſen there; and as Uncle of the young King, took upon himſelf the Title of Protector of *Scotland*; by Vertue whereof his Ambaſſadors at *Rome* demanded of the Pope the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments of that Kingdom, which his Holineſs was pleaſed to grant; but as ſoon as the Duke of *Albany* was arrived he writ, in the young King's Name, ſharply complaining of the King of *England*'s Encroachments, and the Court of *Rome*'s Condeſcenſion, and even threatned the Pope in his Letter, that he would not apply to him for the future, upon any Account whatſoever, if this Grievance was not ſpeedily redreſſed.

The

The Duke of *Albany*, tho' of *Scotch* Extraction, was a Stranger to *Scotland*; for this Duke was born in the time of his Father's Baniſhment, (which was in 1483) and could not even ſpeak the *Scotch* Language. But, as he deſired, in the beginning of his Regency, to be informed of the State of the Kingdom, he unhappily applied to *Hepburne*, Biſhop of *Murray*, a hot and ſpenetick Man, who took this Opportunity to be revenged on thoſe he called his Enemies

A Difference between the Biſhops of Murray *and St.* Andrew's.

The Biſhop being Prior of St. *Andrew's*, had been elected Archbiſhop of that Church in the beginning of the preſent Reign; but was forced to reſign the Archbiſhoprick to *Forman*, Biſhop of *Murray*, who was qualified by the Pope's Bull. However, *Forman* would have never ventured to have made uſe of this Bull, had he not been ſupported by *Alexander Hume*, a potent Lord, by whoſe Credit and Authority he was inſtalled at St. *Andrew's*, having reſigned the Biſhoprick of *Murray* to *Hepburne*, and promiſed him a certain Penſion. *Hepburne* gave the Regent ſuch a Character of *Hume*, that, when he came to Court, he was looked upon with a very ill Eye. *Hume*, being naturally very proud and high ſpirited, reſolved to let the Regent ſee, no Man ſhould ſlight him with Impunity, and went over to the Queen Dowager, perſuading her, that the King her Son was in Danger, and adviſed her to carry him into *England*. The Regent, hearing of this Plot, ſuddenly went to *Sterling* Caſtle, and ſecured the King's Perſon: But to hinder his Enemies from putting an ill Conſtruction on this Matter, he renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King, and committed the Care of his Education to three Perſons of great Credit.

Alexander Hume and his Brother *William*, ſeeing their Plot was diſcovered, fled immediately into *England*, and were quickly followed by the Queen and her Spouſe, the Earl of *Angus*; whereupon the Regent

ſent

ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, to juſtify his Conduct, and at the ſame time ſo artfully treated with the Fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into *Scotland*; but the Queen being big with Child, was forced to ſtay at *Harbottle* Caſtle in *Northumberland*, where ſhe was delivered, on the 7th of *October*, of a Daughter, called *Margaret*.* The Earl of *Angus* left his

* This Princeſs afterwards married *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, Father of *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*; who taking to Wife *Mary*, the Daughter of *James* the Vth, had Iſſue *James* the VIth, the firſt Monarch of *Great Britain*, whoſe Daughter *Elizabeth* married *Frederick*, King of *Bohemia*, and had, among other Children, the late Princeſs *Sophia*, Electoreſs of *Hanover*, and Wife of *Erneſt Auguſtus*, late Elector, &c. and, in the 12th and 13th of the late King *William*, an Act paſſed to intail the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Ireland* on this Princeſs and her Iſſue, which runs thus:

" That, in default of Iſſue of " his Majeſty and the Princeſs " *Ann* of *Denmark* reſpectively, " the Crown and Regal Go- " vernment of the Kingdoms of " *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, " ſhall be, and remain, and " continue to the ſaid moſt ex- " cellent Princeſs *Sophia*, and " the Heirs of her Body being " *Proteſtants*." And her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*, upon her Coming to the Crown, took care to preſerve the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as appears by the Act *for ratifying and confirming the Union* between her two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, wherein it was concluded to the following Effect.

" That the Succeſſion of the " Monarchy of *Great Britain*, " &c. after her then moſt ſacred " Majeſty, and in default of Iſ- " ſue of her Majeſty, be, and " remain, and continue to the ſaid " moſt excellent Princeſs *Sophia*, " and the Heirs of her Body " being *Proteſtants*, upon whom " the Crown of *England* was " already ſettled, by Act of " Parliament made in the ſaid " 12th and 13th Year of the late " King *William*, before recited."

In purſuance of theſe Acts of Parliament, upon the Demiſe of her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*, the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1714, the Princeſs *Sophia* being then dead, the *Proteſtant* Succeſſion took Place, and his late Majeſty King *George* the Iſt (being then Elector of *Hanover*) aſcended the Throne of *Great Britain*, and enjoyed with great Serenity and Peace, theſe Kingdoms to the time of his Death, on the 11th of *June*, 1727, when his preſent moſt excellent Majeſty, King *George* the IId, Son and Heir Apparent of the late King *George* the Iſt, likewiſe aſcended the Throne of theſe noble Kingdoms, and hath governed the ſame with great Magnanimity, for above fifteen Years.

His

his Spouſe and returned to *Scotland*; but the Queen ſtaid a Year in *England*. From the different Diſtractions that had ariſen in the State, thro' the Queen's Flight into *England*, and the Diſſention among the

His Majeſty was born *October* 30, 1683, and has Iſſue now living (by the late Moſt excellent Princeſs, Queen *Caroline*) *Frederick*, Prince of *Wales*, born *January* 20, 1706; — *Ann*, Princeſs of *Orange*, born *October* 22, 1709; — Princeſs *Amelia*, born *May* 30, 1711; — Princeſs *Caroline*, born *May* 30, 1713; — *William*, Duke of *Cumberland*, born *April* 15, 1721; — Princeſs *Mary*, born *February* 22, 1722; — Princeſs *Louiſa*, born *September* 7, 1724.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* was, on the 27th of *April*, 1736, married to her Highneſs, *Auguſta*, Princeſs of *Saxe Gotha*, who was born the 19th of *November*, 1719; and, on this happy Occaſion the ingenious Mr *Thompſon* addreſſed an Ode to his Royal Highneſs, a few Stanza's of which, we believe, may be acceptable.

Yet in the Goddeſs of the Main *appears*
A gleam of Joy, gay flushing ev'ry Grace,
As ſhe the cordial Voice of Millions hears
Rejoicing, zealous, o'er thy riſing Race;
Strait her rekindled Eyes reſume their Fire,
The Virtues *ſmile, the* Muſes *tune the Lyre.*

But more enchanting than the Muſes Song
United *Britons thy dear* Offſpring *hail,*
The City triumphs thro' her glowing Throng;
The Shepherd tells his Tranſport to the Dale.
The Sons of roughest Toil forget their Pain,
And the glad Sailor chears the midnight Main.

Can ought from fair Auguſta's *gentle Blood,*
And thine, thou Friend of Liberty, *be born;*
Can ought, ſave what is lovely, generous, good;
What will at once defend us and adorn?
From thence prophetick Joy new Edward's *Eyes,*
New Henry's, Anna's, *and* Eliza's *riſe.*

May Fate my fond devoted Days extend
To ſing the promis'd Glories of thy Reign!
What tho' by Years depreſs'd my Muſe might bend,
My Heart will teach her ſtill a nobler Strain.

Since the publiſhing of this Ode their Royal Highneſſes have been bleſſed with the following illuſtrious Iſſue *(to wit)* Princeſs *Auguſta*, born *July* 31, 1737; — Prince *George*, born *May* 24, 1738; — Prince *Edward*, born *March* 14, 1739; — Princeſs *Elizabeth*, born *December* 30, 1740.

great Men, *Scotland* was, during this Year, in a very unhappy Situation.

Affairs of Ireland. *A Parliament held there.*

1515. The Earl of *Kildare* paſſed into *England* the beginning of this Year, to confer with his Majeſty, touching the Parliament that was to be then ſhortly held, and in his Abſence *William Garmanſtown*, was appointed Deputy. The Earl returned in *February*, and, on the 25th, held a Parliament at *Dublin*, which, by ſeveral Prorogations, continued until *Thurſday* after *Michaelmas*, 1517.

This Parliament gave the King a Subſidy, and made one good Act.*

On the 3d of *Auguſt*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Ormond*,† died in *London*, who had been Ambaſſador in *France*, Privy

* That no Man ſhould be compelled by Privy Seal, to anſwer any Complaint in *England*, until the Accuſers enter into a Recognizance in the Chancery in *Ireland*, to pay the Defendant his Coſts and Damages, if he be acquitted; which ſo much abated that vexatious Courſe of Proceeding, that it is now quite out of Uſe.

† From this moſt noble Peer was deſcended, *Thomas*, Earl of *Oſſory*, who was, in King *Charles* the IId's Time, created Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and Duke of *Ormond* in *England*; in which Honours and Titles he was ſucceeded by the late great, tho' unfortunate Duke of *Ormond*. This Nobleman was one of the firſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility that went over to the late King *William* upon his Landing, who made him one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and Captain of the ſecond Troop of Guards. He attended his ſaid Majeſty into *Ireland* and *Flanders*, and was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Landen*. Upon the Acceſſion of her late Majeſty Queen *Anne*, he was appointed General of the Forces againſt *Spain*, and, in his Return from thence, he had a large Share in the Action of deſtroying the *French* Fleet, and Galleons in the Harbour of *Vigo*; he was afterwards ſent Lord Lieutenant into *Ireland*, and at laſt made Captain General of the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*, which high Poſt he held till the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Upon the Coming in of the late King *George* the Ift, he was apprehenſive of an Impeachment being

Privy Counſeller in *England*, and had a Seat in the *Engliſh* Parliament above the Barons. He was the richeſt Subject the King had, and left above 40,000 *l.* in Money, beſides Jewels, and as much Land in *England* to his two Daughters, as at this Day would bring 30,000 *l. per Annum*: But had no Iſſue Male to enjoy his *Iriſh* Eſtate, which therefore deſcended to his Kinſman, Sir *Peirce Butler*, with the Title of Earl of *Ormond*.

Charles of Auſtria *takes upon himſelf the Government of* Flanders. 1515.

Charles, Archduke of *Auſtria*, was now fifteen Years of Age; upon which his Grandfather, *Maximilian*, and his Aunt, *Margaret*, ſurrendered up the Government of the *Low Countries* into his Hands, which were preſently notified to all Chriſtian Princes. The Lady *Margaret* at firſt had the Charge of educating the young Duke; but at ſeven Years of Age the Care of his further Education was partly committed to *Adrian Florentius*, a Man of low Extraction, yet had raiſed himſelf by his Virtue. His Preceptor could not get him to apply to Learning, becauſe his Inclination was altogether bent upon Arms, which he early imbibed from *William de Croy*, one of his firſt Governors, who indulged his Humour by cauſing him frequently to read the Feats thereof in the old Hiſtories of *France*, *Spain*, &c. in their reſpective Languages.

Affairs of France, Spain, *and* Italy. 1515.

Some apprehended, on the Death of *Lewis* the XIIth, the new King would have deſiſted from his Pretenſions in *Italy*, and have been contented

being brought againſt him in Parliament, when he retired into *France*; and ſoon after he was attainted by Act of Parliament: Though we are credibly informed, that his Majeſty's perſonal Regard for him was ſuch, that he was determined to pardon him, if he had ſtaid and ſubmitted to the Trial: Whereas now his Title and Eſtate is forfeited to the Crown. The Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Arran*, Brother to the ſaid Duke; the Right Honourable *Somerſet Hamilton Butler*, Viſcount *Ikerine*; and the Right Honourable *Thomas Butler*, Lord of *Cahir*, are all deſcended from this illuſtrious Family.

with his Kingdom in the Condition he found it; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, for *Francis* having added the Title of Duke of *Milan* to that of King of *France*, he alſo inſtantly made great Preparations, in order to enable himſelf to carry on his intended War, ſo that the Eyes of *Europe* were again turned towards *Italy*: But before *Francis* put his Deſign in Execution, as the Offices of *Chancellor* and *Conſtable* were vacant, he diſpoſed of the Firſt to *Anthony du Prat*, and of the other to *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*; and *la Paliſſe* was honoured with the Staff of Marſhal of *France*.

Ferdinand of *Spain* was greatly alarmed at theſe Tranſactions, tho' *Francis* offered to renew the Truce that had been made between *France* and *Spain*; yet *Ferdinand*, in his Conference with the *Swiſs* Ambaſſador, declared, that the only Way to make *France* deſiſt from her Attempts in *Italy*, was to attack the *French* in their own Country; and therefore was ready to join all his Forces with the *Swiſs* for that Purpoſe. The *Swiſs* liſtened to theſe Propoſals, and readily agreed: The Emperor alſo promiſed to carry on the War againſt the *Venetians* with greater Vigour than he had hitherto done.

Whilſt theſe Schemes were upon the Carpet, *Francis* ordered his Troops to file off towards the *Alps*, and the *Swiſs*, reſolved to oppoſe this Expedition, ſeized the only two Paſſes thro' which it was judged the *French* could enter the *Milaneſe*: But *Ferdinand*, inſtead of keeping his Word with the *Swiſs*, after he was aſſured *Francis* was ſet out on his Expedition, immediately diſbanded his Forces, and left the whole Burthen of defending *Milan* to the *Swiſs*. *Francis* made uſe of this lucky Opportunity, and marched his Army by a Route little thought of and unguarded, and ſoon came within Sight of *Milan*, which he found poſſeſſed by the *Swiſs*; to whom he offered a Sum of Money, if they would deliver up the Place

Place and return home, which they at firſt ſeemed to agree to; but, having received a Supply of 15000 Men, and being inſtigated by the Cardinal of *Sion*, (the conſtant Enemy of *France*) they actually attacked *Francis*'s Army, who lay encamped at *Marignano*, little expecting ſuch a Viſit. However, the *French* engaged the *Swiſs*, and defeated them, who loſt above 10,000 Men. Here *Francis* commanded his Army in Perſon, having under him *Lautrec*, now become a very experienced General, and at this Battle gained great Reputation; the King too acted in this Engagement like an experienced Captain, whoſe Reſolution was far greater than the Danger he was expoſed to. The new Conſtable of *France* and the famous *Peter Navarro* were alſo in this Engagement and behaved bravely; the latter had entered into the *French* Service, having left the *Spaniards*, becauſe, after he was taken at the Battle of *Ravenna*, they let him lie a long time in Priſon for want of paying his Ranſom.

The French *beat the* Swiſs.

This Victory was of exceeding Service to *Francis*, for the Reſidue of the pennyleſs *Swiſs* made the beſt of their way home, the City of *Milan* capitulated, and the *French* King ſoon got Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy.

Whilſt the *French* were thus buſied, the indolent Emperor got to *Inſpruck*, ſeated at eaſe, without troubling his Head either for or againſt the *Swiſs*; and old King *Ferdinand* only looked on, not giving the *Swiſs* any ſort of Aſſiſtance, each Party ſeeming to have forgot, that they had ſo much as promiſed ſo to do.

Maximilian Sforza, Duke of *Milan*, who had ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle, finding his Caſe deſperate, ſurrendered it by Capitulation. The Duke was no ſooner in the *French* King's Hands, than he was ſent into *France*, where he was allowed a Penſion for Life; ſuch was the Fate of the Son of *Ludovic* the *Moor*.

His

The King of France's *publick Entry into* Milan.

His Majeſty entered *Milan* in great State, environed by the greateſt part of his *Cavalry*, and attended by four of the chiefeſt Senators of *Venice*, among whom was *Andrew Gritti*. Succeſs did not attend *Francis* the Iſt. at *Milan* only; for, whilſt he was thus employed, *Octavian Fregoſa* brought the *Genoeſe* under his Dominion, and, inſtead of *Doge*, ſtiled himſelf *Governor for the King*.

As ſoon as *Francis* had accompliſhed his Enterprizes, the *Venetian* Army, under the Command of *Alviano*, their Captain General propoſed to beſiege *Breſſia*; but, juſt as he was going to put his Project in Execution, he was ſeized with a Fever, and conſtrained to leave his Army, and in the Month of *October* died, before he was 60 Years of Age. His Death was a great Concern to the People of *Venice*, and much more to the Soldiers, who kept his Body 25 Days, carrying it about as they marched with great Solemnity, and then it was brought to *Venice*, and, by a publick Decree, was honourably buried in St. *Stephen*'s Church, where his Tomb is at this Day to be ſeen: And, as he had eſteemed the Service of his Country above Riches, he left his Widow and Children very poor; but that was made up to them by Order of the Senate, who provided for them in a generous Manner.

Alviano *dies much lamented.*

Breſſia *taken by the* Venetians.

After *Alviano*'s Death, *George Eme*, the Proveditor, took upon himſelf the Command of the Army, which with the Aſſiſtance of the *French* at laſt took *Breſſia*, and the *Venetians* were ſo well ſatisfied with the Services they had met with from *Lautrec*, that they made him ſeveral handſome Preſents, his Maſter at the ſame time preſenting him with the Order of St. *Michael*.

Pope *Leo*, being in hopes *Francis* would never have been able to have entered *Italy*, joined in the League

League againſt him, but ſo privately that *Francis* knew nothing of it till he came to *Vercail*. In the mean time the Pope was under great Perplexities, for he had ſent an Army into *Lombardy*, with a Deſign to ſupport the Duke of *Milan*: But, when he heard *Francis* had ſurmounted all Difficulties, he ſent Orders to *Lorenzo de Medici*, who commanded his Army, not to commit Hoſtilities againſt the *French*, and to let the King know, that his Army was there only to guard *Parma* and *Placentia*; for, as the Fate of *Milan* was not then decided, he did not dare to make too many Advances, leſt the Allies might take Umbrage, who would have it in their Power to be revenged of him, if the *French* had been vanquiſhed.

Tho' *Leo*'s Behaviour to *Francis* was ſuch, that he deſerved no Favour from him, he obtained, among other Advantages, the Abolition of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which his Predeceſſors had hitherto in vain demanded, and in return, the Pope agreed to an Interview with the King of *France* at *Bologna*.

Interview between Leo and Francis.

The Pope entered that City the 8th of *December*, and the King made his Entry two Days after. He was received, on the Confines of the Country of *Reggio*, by the Cardinals *Fieſque* and *Medicis*, Legates Apoſtolick, who introduced him, according to the Manner of Kings, into the Pope's Preſence, in the publick Conſiſtory, where his Majeſty offered his Obedience to the holy See, his great Chancellor, in a Speech, delivering his Maſter's Sentiments, which were extreamly well received by his Holineſs. The Audience being over, they ſpent three Days together in one Palace, ſhewing to each other manifeſt Tokens of the ſtrongeſt Amity, and confirmed, by repeated Promiſes, the Obligations and Contracts before debated, beſides conſulting on many Things touching the Kingdom of *Naples*, the King having now Thoughts of attacking it; which Enterprize the Pope promiſed to favour at a ſeaſonable Time.

Time. The King next ſollicited the Reſtitution of *Modena* and *Reggio*, to the Duke of *Ferrara*, which *Leo* alſo promiſed to grant, upon being paid a certain Sum of Money. The Pope again promiſed to give the King Power to levy the tenth Part of the Church-Revenues of *France*, for the Maintenance of his Army; and conſented, that *Francis* ſhould have the Nomination of Benefices, which always had appertained to Colleges and Chapters; a Matter that fell out much to the Profit and Purpoſe of the King of *France*, who had by that Means the Diſpoſal of the Benefices, but the Annates of the *French* Churches they agreed ſhould be paid according to the true Value; but when his Holineſs's Deputies ſought to proceed againſt thoſe that concealed it, they could find no Proofs, ſo that the Pope's Deſigns were defeated in that Reſpect. The King on his Part promiſed, not to take into his Protection any of the Cities of *Tuſcany*, yet afterwards he required to have Liberty to protect the People of *Lucca*, (who had offered him 25,000 Ducats) ſaying, "He was bound to that Protection by the Obligation "of his Predeceſſor:" but the Pope refuſed to agree to it; tho' he promiſed not to moleſt them in any ſort. Laſtly, they agreed to ſend Fryar *Giles*, General of the *Auguſtines*, and an excellent Preacher, to the Emperor, in the Pope's Name, to perſuade him to render *Verona*, &c. to the *Venetians*, for an Equivalent in Money. The Pope on taking Leave, at the King's Requeſt, created *Adrian de Boiſie* Cardinal, who was Brother to the Great-maſter of *France*, and one in the higheſt Eſteem with the King.

After theſe Matters were ſettled which were not reduced into Writing, except the Articles for Nomination of Benefices, *&c.* the King departed from the Pope well ſatisfied with the Reception he had met with, thinking now he ſhould have a perpetual Friend of him. His Holineſs too ſhewed as much outward Satisfaction at this Interview; but in his Mind nouriſhed other Impreſſions,

ſions, for that two Matters were very grievous to him; the one, that the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould remain in the *French* King's Hands; the other, that the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould be re-inveſted in *Modena* and *Reggio*; and indeed all theſe Promiſes vaniſhed in Air: For, after *Leo* had been at *Florence* about a Month, the Duke of *Ferrara* declared, the Money was ready to be paid on his being let into Poſſeſſion, and the Agreement was ſoon after put into Writing; but the Pope found Means to evade his Promiſe.

In the mean time, the King returned to *Milan*, diſmiſſed his Army, except 700 Lances, 6000 Lance-knights, and 4000 *French* Voluntiers, whom he left to guard the City, and then the King ſet out for *France*, (about the End of *December*) leaving behind him, as his Lieutenant, *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, judging he had left his Affairs in *Italy* in a good State, both on Account of the Alliance newly contracted with the Pope, and becauſe as he had defeated the *Swiſs*, he found Means to ſettle the Differences ſubſiſting between them; "though, as *Guicciardin* ſays, "contrary to the Perſuaſions of the King of *Eng-*"*land*, who would have had the *Swiſs* have proſecuted "the War againſt *France*." Yet they even entered into an Alliance with *Francis*, and bound themſelves to furniſh for the King's Service, and in his Pay, in and out of *Italy*, ſuch Numbers of Footmen, as he ſhould require, and that under their Name and Publick Enſigns, except againſt the Pope, the Empire and the Emperor. On the other hand, the King confirmed to them their antient Penſions, with a Promiſe to pay them, within a certain Time, the 600,000 Ducats, agreed upon at *Dijon*, together with 300,000 more, on their delivering up to him the Villages and Valleys appertaining to his Dutchy of *Milan*; but the five Cantons that poſſeſſed thoſe Places refuſed to ratify the Treaty. Whereupon the King undertook to

France *enters into an Alliance with the* Switzers.

pay the other eight Cantons that Proportion of the Money that appertained to them; but they expreſly excepted againſt their Undertaking to aſſiſt the *French*, in their Attempt to diſpoſſeſs the five Cantons of what they enjoyed.

Further Affairs of England, 1515.

When *Henry* the VIIIth heard the Succeſs that had attended *Francis* this Campaign, he expreſſed himſelf very uneaſy thereat, leſt he ſhould become too powerful; alſo at his entertaining in his Army *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been lately beheaded; this Prince now pretending, as his Brother was cut off, to have a Right to the Crown. For theſe Reaſons *Henry* began to look about him, and to prepare againſt the worſt.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had ſpent his Time in *London* for ſome Months but heavily, was on this Occaſion careſſed by Archbiſhop *Wolſey*, which News was joyfully received by *Ferdinand*: And the Emperor, hearing of *Henry*'s Diſpoſitions to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *French* in *Italy*, begun alſo to dread the too great Power of *France* in that Country; wherefore he ſent an Ambaſſador to *England* with Inſtructions, to agree to ſuch Schemes as the King and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſhould ſettle.

The King holds a Council.

Henry on this ſummoned an extraordinary Council, at which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Durham*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* aſſiſted. *Wolſey* opened the Debate, and, in a pathetick Speech, laid before them, *Firſt*, "The Steps taken "by the *French* in *Italy*, and ſhewed how *Francis* "had broke the laſt Treaty, by favouring *Richard de* "*la Pole*. *Secondly*, in aſſiſting the *Scotch*, who op- "poſed the King's Siſter, in withholding ſeveral "Jewels and Goods belonging to Queen Mary; which "ſeveral Acts, ſaid he, ought to be reſented in ſome "Meaſure, and he knew no better Way to do it, than

"to

" to assist those Princes who were at Variance with " *France.*" The Bishop of *Durham*, and others, were of the same Judgment; but the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were of the contrary Opinion, and encouraged the King to turn his Arms, in case he was for War, to the Conquest of *Scotland*. Then the King was pleased to declare his Sentiments, and said, " he " did not think it adviseable to break with *Francis*, " yet he would act so as to stop his further Progress " in *Italy*.

New Instructions sent to our Ambassador in France.

Upon the breaking up of the Council, proper Instructions were sent to Sir *Richard Wingfield*, the King's Ambassador, to demand Redress from the *French* King, of the several Matters complained of at the Council Board; which the Ambassador accordingly did.

King *Francis* gave him a very favourable Answer, promising all due Satisfaction should be given to his Majesty of *England*.

Whilst our Ambassador was thus employed in *France*, *Francisco Sforza*, Brother to *Maximilian*, the late Duke of *Milan*, applied to *Henry*, to assist him in the Recovering of *Milan*, in regard his Brother was shut up a Prisoner in *France*. The King listened to this Prince's Request, and entered into a Treaty with him; wherein it was stipulated, " That, in " case he recovered the Dutchy, he should pay to " *England* a yearly Tribute, in Consideration of the " Supply that *Henry* was to furnish him with for that " End; and that *Wolsey*, for his Part, should have " out of it 10,000 Ducats yearly." *Polidor* says 18,000: " But, upon as good Authority, (says Dr. " *Fiddes*) and with the same Ingenuity, he has ad- " vanced several other Things, whereby he might " transmit the Cardinal's Name under a more disad- " vantageous Character, and gratify his Resentment " against him. In the Original Contract, by which

Henry enters into a Treaty with Francisco Sforza.

" *Michael Abbatis* obligeth himſelf to pay a certain " Sum in the Name of his Maſter; the Sum is ſpe- " cified to be 10,000 Ducats. And this Contract being " preſerved and repoſited, among other Tranſactions, " *in Bibl. Cott. Vitell. L.* 2. *Bib.* 11. it is highly pro- " bable, *Wolſey* had the King's Authority for inſiſting " on this Condition for himſelf."

The prudent Steps that the Court of *England* had thus taken to provide againſt the growing Power of *France*, was ſo diſagreeable to the ſage *Rapin*, that he breaks out, upon his Majeſty and his Prime Miniſter, as follows:

" Though *Henry* had not been able intirely to avoid " the Snares laid by the Pope, the Emperor, and the " King of *Spain*, he had happily got clear; but with a " firm Reſolution, never more to be thus over-reached. " His affecting not to mention them in his Treaty " with *France* plainly ſhewed, he did not much value " their Friendſhip; but he was not ſo fortunate as to " perſiſt in this Reſolution, ſince it was his own Fault, " that he engaged in a freſh War with *France*, not ſo " much for his own as the Intereſt of others. His " Change may be aſcribed to three ſeveral Cauſes: " The *firſt* his Jealouſy of the *glorious* Succeſs of " *Francis*'s Arms in *Italy*: The *ſecond*, to prevent " the growing Power of that *Neighbour*: The *third* " and principal, *Wolſey*, his Favourite's Intereſt, who, " thinking to have Reaſon to complain of the King " of *France*, would be revenged. The two firſt need " no further Explanation: 'Tis well known that " Princes are ſubject to Paſſions like other Men, and " that Jealouſy may induce them to run counter to their " Intereſt: 'Tis known likewiſe, that Policy is as it " were the Hinge on which *all*, or *almoſt all*, their " Actions turn. But, on this Occaſion, *Henry* pro- " ceeded on a very wrong Policy, ſince nothing was " more capable of ſecuring the Peace of *England*, than " the King of *France*'s Acquiſitions in *Italy*. The

" *third*

" *third* Cauſe requires a more particular Explana-
" tion.

" *Thomas Wolſey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was Prime
" Miniſter and Chief Favourite; but this does not
" fully expreſs the Thing: It muſt be added, that
" he ſo *abſolutely governed* the King, that he *turned*
" *him which Way he pleaſed* *; but he *managed ſo*
" *artfully*, that the King always *fancied* he took his
" own Courſe, when he only followed the *Suggeſtions*
" *of his Miniſter*. *Wolſey* had *great Talents* for a
" Perſon of *his Birth* †; but he had alſo *great Fail-*
" *ings* ‖. He was exceſſively *revengeful*, *greedy* of
" *Poſſeſſions* and *Honours*, and *intolerably proud* §. He
no

* Then *Wolſey abſolutely* made a *Weather-cock* of his royal Maſter. Very kind of Monſ. *Rapin!*

† *Rapin* reflects on *Wolſey* for his low *Birth*, when it is well known, that ſome of the greateſt Men, *Europe* has produced, have not been able to boaſt of higher Originals than this Prelate, many of which, both among the Living and Dead, we could here name. And whether *Birth*, or, to ſpeak more ſtrictly, the *Station of a Man's Parents*, can affect his *Talents*, or *Genius*, we leave to Naturaliſts and Metaphyſicians to determine.

‖ Who are without?

§ *Revengeful, greedy of Poſſeſſions, intolerably proud*: Theſe, ſure, are more than *Failings*. But he gives us no Authority to ſupport this Charge; and, tho' he couples Biſhop *Fox* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, as having received many *Mortifications* from *Wolſey*, he has not ſhewn one Inſtance of it. On the contrary, in p. 704 of his Hiſtory, Vol. Iſt, which we have before cited, he relates a Quarrel between theſe two old Miniſters, in reſpect to the King's ſpending his Money; and, tho' he gives us no Account of their Reconciliation, he makes them both retire together in Diſguſt: But it manifeſtly appears, as we ſhall ſpeedily ſhew, that Biſhop *Fox* and the Duke of *Norfolk* were, in the Month of *November* this Year, at the grand Entertainment made by *Wolſey*, when he was preferred to the Dignity of a Cardinal; as was alſo the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Duke of *Suffolk*. Therefore, if they had been ſo diſguſted with *Wolſey*, as *Rapin* would have it, who can believe that either of theſe great Men would have partaken of his Entertainments? As to the Charge, that the reſt of the Privy-Council were all *Wolſey*'s Favourites, he brings nothing more to prove that, than he has for the reſt, his *Ipſe dixit*. But whatever was the Motive to induce *Rapin* to treat

Wolſey

" no ſooner ſaw himſelf fixed in his Maſter's Fa-
" vour, but he *ſought* Means to remove from Court
" all thoſe that could give him any *Jealouſy*, by the
" King's Eſteem for them. *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of
" *Winchester*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who
" had been moſt in Favour, received ſo *many Mor-*
" *tifications* from this *imperious Prelate*, that at length
" they quitted the Court, not to be expoſed to his
" Inſults. *Fox* withdrew to his Dioceſe the Begin-
" ning of this Year, the two Dukes quickly followed,
" and *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, retired
" alſo at the End of the ſame Year. Theſe old
" Miniſters being removed, *Wolſey* became ſtill more
" *abſolute over the King*, who had *him only** to ad-
" viſe with in his moſt important Affairs; the reſt
" of the Privy-Council were all the Favourite's Crea-
" tures.

" The *Hiſtorians* † *unanimouſly* agree, that *Wolſey's*
Intereſt was the *ſole Rule* of the Councils he gave the
King.

Wolſey in ſo unbecoming a Manner, we are well aſſured, that the generous and honeſt Part of Mankind will always pay Reſpect to Men of conſpicuous Parts and Merit, one of which he certainly was as his very Enemies have allowed. In ſhort, the Reader will not be ſo much ſurprized at Monſieur *Rapin's* Treatment of *Wolſey*, when he conſiders, that his whole Hiſtory is filled with ſcarce any thing but Reflections on the *Engliſh* Nation, which makes us much admire our Countrymen ſhould be ſo fond of it.

His Abuſe too of the Royal Family of the *Stuarts* is ſo flagrant, that we make no Doubt but ſome able Pen will, one time or other, fully execute ſo noble a Task as that of reſcuing their abuſed Characters out of the Hands of ſo malicious and partial a Writer; and which we are the more encouraged to hope, when we call to mind, that his late Majeſty, King *George* the Iſt, one of the Royal Deſcendants from that illuſtrious Family, out of his princely Generoſity, founded, in the two Univerſities, Profeſſors, both for the encouraging the *Study* and Writing of *Modern Languages* and Hiſtory.

* This we look on to be ſuch an Improbability as any Reader may ſee through.

† This Aſſertion we allow to be true, (but not in the Manner Monſieur aſſerts) becauſe it was his *Intereſt* to adviſe the King for his

" King. As this Intereſt anſwered his reigning Paſ-
" ſions, *Revenge*, *Greedineſs*, *Ambition*, and *Pride*,
" the Reader muſt not be ſurprized, when he ſees him
" hereafter inducing the King to make ſo many *falſe*
" *Steps.*" *

But, to return, the Pope was now ſtrongly ſollicited by ſeveral Princes, to make Archbiſhop *Wolſey*, the King's Prime Miniſter, a Cardinal; and Monſieur *Rapin* himſelf tells us, " That *Wolſey* had even em-
" ployed to ſollicit in his Name Cardinal *Hadrian*;
" but *Hadrian*, inſtead of ſerving him as he had pro-
" miſed, had done him ill Offices. *Wolſey*, being in-
" formed of it, was ſo incenſed, that, on ſome ſlight
" Pretence, he committed *Polidor* (his Deputy in *Eng-*
" *land*) to the *Tower*.† Then he cauſed the King to
" write with his own Hand to the Pope, to deſire
" him to appoint another Collector in *Hadrian*'s room.
" The King's Letter was ſo ſtrong and paſſionate,
" that the Pope thought fit to comply with his Re-
" queſt. However, in his Brief of Advice, he told
" the

his Good, which evidently appeared from his Actions; and we have, beſides others, even ſo great an Authority as Biſhop *Burnet*, to ſupport it, who affirms, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 8. *That* Wolſey *never engaged the King, his Maſter, in any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage.*

* How, Monſieur! was it a falſe Step for King *Henry* to endeavour to ſtop *Francis* (his grand Monarch!) from growing too powerful, getting too firm a Footing in *Italy?* which, if he had done, he might of conſequence have given Laws to the Princes of that Country: And, if that had proved the Caſe, how long would it have been, before he would have turned his Arms towards making Conqueſts in the *Low Countries*, as his Succeſſors afterwards did? which was the Cauſe of the longeſt and bloodieſt War ever carried on in *Europe*, and in which *England* was engaged from the beginning to the end, at an infinite Expence of Blood and Treaſure both by Sea and Land.

† Monſieur *Rapin* is miſtaken: It was the King, as appears by the Pope's Letter, that committed him; and the real Cauſe was, *Polidor* had been very buſy in miſrepreſenting, by Letters, both the King and his Miniſter's Actions, in order to influence the Pope not to make *Wolſey* a Cardinal.

" the King he knew very well his Anger againſt *Hadrian* " was inſtilled into him by *Wolſey*."

The Commitment of the Pope's Deputy Collector to the *Tower* made a great Noiſe at *Rome*, and (at the Inſtigation of Cardinal *Hadrian*) at length the Pope, and Cardinal *Julius de Medici* interceded for him to the King, by Letters of *Aug.* 30, and *Sept.* 3. The Letter from the Pope is in a high Strain, in which his Holineſs takes Notice, " That, in former Let- " ters to his Majeſty, he recommended his beloved Son " *Polidor Virgil*, Deputy Collector of the Apoſtolical " See in *England*, who had been put into Gaol by his " Orders, where he had been detained for ſeveral Months " paſt: Intimating that he had exhorted him, as he " reverenced the holy See, *&c.* to ſet him at Liberty.

" And as he had learnt nothing as to what had been " done by him in that Affair, which was the cauſe of his " renewing his Requeſt to his Majeſty, whereby he again " and again earneſtly deſired the ſame from the King; " likewiſe, that he would order whatever was taken from " *Polidor* to be reſtored to him in his Houſe; concluding " his Letter with a high Character of Cardinal *Hadrian*, " and praying the King not to ſuffer him to write a- " gain on this Subject.

That from the Cardinal was to the following Effect, " That, if he had not known with what Expedition the " moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal *Hadrian* had acted in " the Collector's Cauſe, in order to give his Majeſty en- " tire Satisfaction, he ſhould perhaps have wrote with far " leſs Confidence, than he then did, in Favour of *Polidor* " *Virgil*, his Servant, of whoſe Confinement he had " heard with Pain; and as the Cardinal was removed, " and Signior *Andrew* had taken Poſſeſſion of the Col- " lectorſhip, he hoped and earneſtly prayed, that his " Majeſty would ſet him at Liberty, *&c.*"

Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, as this was the time that ſtrong Inſtances were making to the Pope to grant *Wolſey* a Cardinal's Hat, his Majeſty did not think

think proper to refuſe the Pope what he deſired, and thereupon *Polidor* was releaſed out of the *Tower*, after he had been confined near twelve Months; but from this time we find no more of him as the Pope's Deputy Collector; ſo that afterwards he employed his leiſure Hours in writing the Hiſtory of *England* beforementioned, and therein he took occaſion to collect all the Reflections he could poſſibly get together, whether true or falſe, in order to revenge himſelf upon *Wolſey*, from a Suppoſition that he was the Author of his Impriſonment. But it will appear by and by, that Cardinal *Hadrian* was a moſt wicked Man; that neither the Pope, nor Cardinal *Medici* had any great Cauſe to ſollicit on his Behalf; and that Cardinal *Baynbridge* was not out in his Conjecture touching *Hadrian*.

And as to *Polidor Virgil*, notwithſtanding Monſieur *Rapin* admits, that he was a *partial Hiſtorian* in reſpect to the Cardinal, yet he generally makes him his Authority, where he is the moſt intent in blackening *Wolſey*'s Memory.

Though, for a good while, Archbiſhop *Wolſey* met with Oppoſition and Diſappointment, in his Sollicitations to obtain a Cardinal's Hat, he was at length honoured with the Purple, by the Title of Cardinal of St. *Cicile* beyond the *Tyber*,* through the Means

* As *Wolſey* was now made Cardinal, let us make ſome Enquiry into the Dignity of that Order in the *Romiſh* Church. Pope *Nicholas* the IId, about the Year 1066, brought the Deacons and Cardinals into great Eſtimation; and, being made the ſecond eſtabliſhed Electors of the Pope, they grew into greater Eſtimation. *Innocent* the IVth raiſed them yet higher about the Year 1244, giving them Leave to ride in their Foot-cloaths, and to wear the red Hat; to the End that, as they excelled other Men in their Dreſs and Ornament, it might be expected they ſhould excel all others in their good Behaviour and *Virtue*. How far they have generally anſwered this Expectation we ſhall leave to the Inquiry of the Curious. Thoſe who have painted St. *Ambroſe* with a Cardinal's Hat were guilty of a mere Mockery, for in his Days there were not any. A Cardinal even at this time is in the higheſt Degree next the Pope they accompany and counſel him in all Matters of Importance.

of his powerful Friends, who never ceaſed their Applications for him, till they had obtained what was deſired.

Archbiſhop Wolſey *made a Cardinal.*

The Pope ſent the Hat the beginning of *Nov.* 1515. When the Meſſenger landed in *England* he was met by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* at *Blackheath*, and was received by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and many other Gentlemen of great Honour, and ſo conducted thro' *London*, being attended in *Cheapſide* by Sir *William Butler*, Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the reſpective Companies in their Stands during the Proceſſion. At *Weſtminſter* Abbey eight Abbots, in their proper Habits, honourably received the *Hat*, and conveyed it to the high Altar, whereon it was ſet.

The 18th of *Nov.* being *Sunday*, the Cardinal, accompanied by the prime Nobility and Gentry, repaired to *Weſtminſter* Abbey, and, kneeling before the high Altar with his Hood over his Face, whilſt the Benediction and Prayers, concerning the high Creation of a Cardinal, were read to him, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* placed the Hat on his Head, which being done, the Cardinal, with his noble Train, returned to his Palace at *Charing-croſs*, (now called *Whitehall*) where a ſumptuous Entertainment was provided; at which were preſent the King, the Queen, the Queen of *Scotland*, the *French* Queen, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Durham*, and *Rocheſter*; ſeveral mitred Abbots, Priors, *&c.* the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many others of the firſt Degrees from Abroad, as well as of *England*; beſides Sir *John Fincaux*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*,* and the other Judges and Serjeants at Law.

Arch-

* Sir *John Fincaux*, who was one of the Cardinal's Gueſts on this Occaſion, was extremely intimate with him, adviſed with his

Cardinal Wolsey made Lord High Chancellor.

Archbishop *Wolsey* was not long promoted to the Purple before he was made Lord High Chancellor of *England*, upon *Warham*'s resigning the Great Seal, which was delivered, by his Majesty to the Cardinal, *Dec.* 22.

Rapin says, "*Wolsey* having obtained a Cardinal's "Cap, was transported with Joy, when he received "the News of it, by an Express sent by the King of "*France*; but, tho' he was highly obliged to that "Monarch, this Favour begat in his Breast much "less *Gratitude*,† than the Injury, he imagined to "have received in the Affair of *Tournay*, had caused

Resent-

his Eminence on several Affairs of Importance, and gained so much Reputation in his Profession, that he was esteemed one of the greatest Judges of the Age he lived in. He was born at *Swinksfield*, in the County of *Kent*, and educated in *Oxford*; from thence, he came to study the Law in the *Middle-Temple*, commenced Council at 28 Years of Age, and acted as such the like Number of Years before he was made Chief Justice, and continued 28 Years in that high Office; so that he was 84 Years of Age when he died. He was wont to tell his Friends, "That "a Man who enters the World "must be industrious, but not "affected in disclosing his Abi-"lities. The best way (says he) "is to observe an equal Grada-"tion, for the slowest Steps to "Greatness are the most secure; "whereas swift Rises are often "attended with precipitate "Falls. It is a just Observa-"tion, that that which is soonest "gained is soonest lost. Wealth "is got by Industry, and the "best way to make it durable "is by Charity:" In which this Judge was a great Example, not only in relieving those of his own Profession, but others; which universal Benevolence Length of Time hath not worn out. Sir *John*'s Ancestors were not so obscure, as he was illustrious for his Industry, Piety, and Virtue. His *Device*, upon the Rings he gave away when made a Serjeant at Law, was, "*Suæ quisque Fortunæ faber.*" "Every Man is the Builder of "his own Fortune." Sir *John* had another Saying, *Twenty Years I lived by my Industry, twenty by my Reputation, and ten by Favour.* We are fully convinced that the present Right Hon. Sir *William Lee*, Knt. may claim a great Share of his renowned Predecessor's Character.

† There could be no *Ingratitude* yet committed by *Wolsey*, the Obligation lying on *Francis*'s side, for having endeavoured to deprive him of his Revenues of *Tournay*; and, we doubt not, *Francis*, among other Princes, by this time, thought it his Interest to ingratiate himself with *Wolsey*.

" Reſentment. He therefore, in order to be re-
" venged, endeavoured to ſet the King, his Maſter,
" at Variance with *Francis*, and cauſed him to enter
" into a new League againſt *France*. Herein he ſa-
" tisfied three of his predominant Paſſions; his *Pride*,
" in letting *Europe* ſee that Sovereigns themſelves of-
" fended him not with Impunity; his *Revenge*, in
" creating *Francis* great Troubles;* and his *own*
" *Intereſt*, in ſecuring the Adminiſtration of the Bi-
" ſhoprick of *Tourney*." And further ſays, " Whilſt
" the *Engliſh* were endeavouring to ſcreen themſelves
" from the Oppreſſions of the Court of *Rome*, they
" beheld one riſing in their own Body, like a *new*
" *Pope*, whom they foreſaw would be more difficult
" to reſiſt than him at *Rome*, becauſe he was ſupport-
" ed by the King; I mean *Wolſey*. Since that Pre-
" late was promoted to the *Cardinalate*, he grew more
" *vain*, *proud*, and *imperious* than ever. He never
" ſtirred without a Prince's Retinue, always attended
" by a Crowd of Domeſticks, and cauſing the Cardi-
" nal's Hat to be carried before him like a ſort of
" Trophy, and placed on the Altar when he went
" to the King's Chapel. He was the firſt Clergy-
" man in *England* that wore *Silk in his Veſtments*, and
" uſed *Gold in his Saddles*.† In a Word, he *deviſed*
" all ſorts of Ways to diſtinguiſh himſelf; every
" one took ſuch an Offence at his *Pride*, that it was
" *inceſſantly* talked of with Indignation; but no Man
" durſt open his Mouth before the King, ſince the
" old Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for only glancing upon
" it,

* All the *Revenge* was this, adviſing his Maſter to enter into proper Alliances againſt *France*, in order to defeat a Deſign, that might have raiſed a Rebellion in *England*, in Favour of *Richard de la Pole*, as before hinted; which was ſo far from being a *Vice*, that it was a manifeſt *Vertue*, in not ſacrificing the real Intereſt of his Country for *French* Favour, as too many have been guilty of.

† Great Inſtances, truly, of all that *Vanity*, *Pride*, and *Imperiouſneſs*, Monſieur is pleaſed to load the Cardinal with.

" it, was ſo ill received, that ſhortly after he with-
" drew to his Dioceſe.* The Archbiſhop of *Can-*
" *terbury* was no leſs offended than the reſt, to ſee
" the Archbiſhop of *York* affect thus ſo great a Diſ-
" tinction:† But what gave him moſt Offence,
" was to ſee the Croſs of *York* carried before the
" Cardinal, tho' he was in the Province of *Canter-*
" *bury*. We have ſpoken elſewhere of this Conteſt
" between the two Archbiſhops, which, after having
" cauſed violent Quarrels, could not be decided,
" but by the King's expreſs Commands to the Arch-
" biſhops of *York*, not to have the Croſs carried be-
" fore them in the other Province: But *Wolſey* who
" thought himſelf much above his Predeceſſors, pre-
" pared to revive the Conteſts, in contempt of theſe
" Prohibitions. *Warham*, who was of a peaceable
" Temper, eaſily perceived, that, tho' he ſhould
" attempt to hinder it, he ſhould not ſucceed, be-
" cauſe *Wolſey* had an *abſolute Sway* over the King;
" ſo, not to have this Object before his Eyes, he de-
" ſired the King's Leave to reſign the Chancellorſhip,
" and retire to his Palace. His Requeſt was imme-
" diately granted, and the ſame Day the King gave
" the Seals to Cardinal *Wolſey*. In all Appearance
" he had created ſo *many Mortifications* only to oblige
" him to quit his Office, with which he deſired to
" be inveſted himſelf. To ſupport the Splendor of
" his Dignity, with more State than any other before
" him, the King *loaded* him every Day with freſh
" Favours; Prebends, Wardſhips, and the like,
" which continually encreaſed his Revenue. Beſides
" the

* We have ſo. 268, given the true Reaſon that induced the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to retire.

† *Wolſey* affected no ſuch State as Archbiſhop of *York*, but as Lord High Chancellor and Cardinal: And we apprehend *Rapin* forgets Archbiſhop *Warham*'s *pompous Inſtalment*, (which we have related in Vol. I. *p.* 229, *&c.*) when he ſo much condemns the Cardinal for his Grnadeur. What is it a virulent Writer will not ſay of the Party he does not like?

" the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and the Chancellor-
" ſhip, he had in Farm, upon eaſy Terms, the Bi-
" ſhopricks of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Hereford*; but
" this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy him."*

Now to ſay ſomewhat of the Riſe of this high Office, and of the other great Officers who preſide in the Court of Chancery, we ſhall paſs over the Etymology of the Word *Chancellor*, and obſerve, that both our *Britiſh* and *Saxon* Kings had their Chancellors; particularly King *Alfred* cauſed the Nobles of his Realm to meet at three great Feſtivals, *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, and *Chriſtmas*, who aſſembled in Court, from whence it was called *Court de more*; and from this *Saxon* Court, in Proceſs of Time, ſprung the three Courts of *Chancery*, *King's-bench*, and *Common Pleas*.†

The antient Manner of adminiſtring Juſtice was by Judges appointed by the King, as they now are, and theſe Judges followed the King's Court wherever it moved, till, the Inconvenience becoming very notorious, the Courts were ſettled to a certain Place. The Court, where the King is always ſuppoſed to be preſent in Perſon, is ſtiled the *King's-bench*, yet there the King cannot, by Law, give Judgment, (tho' ſeveral of our Kings have actually ſat there) that being reſerved to his Chief Juſtice.

In many Caſes the *Common Law* fell ſhort of doing ſtrictly right; and in ſome, tho' adjudged right, yet it was with ſuch Severity, as rendered it a kind of Injuſtice. To remedy theſe Evils the People had recourſe to the King, who, upon due Hearing of the Cauſe with all its Circumſtances, would grant ſuch Relief as ſhould appear equitable. Upon theſe Suits our Kings were wont to conſult their firſt Chaplains, who were likewiſe their *Chancellors*, and thus took Cog-

* We have no more than Monſ. *Rapin*'s *Say-ſo*, that he *coveted* theſe; nor does he yet tell us what more he *coveted* or *obtained*.

† See *Gurdon*'s *Hiſtory of the High Court of Parliament*.

Cognizance of Matters of Equity, and thence were ſtiled, as they ſtill are, *Keepers of the King's Conſcience* in the high Court of *Chancery*.

Hence, as Buſineſs increaſed, many Officers were appointed under him, who were alſo the King's Chaplains, thence ſtiled *Clerks*, now *Maſters in Chancery*; and, for the better providing for theſe judicial Officers, the Chancellor had the Preſentation to all the Benefices in the King's Gift, under the Value of twenty Marks *per Annum*.

In Time, when the Court was put upon a better Regulation, the Chancellor came to have two Courts, one of *Common Law*, for the Writs returnable in other Courts, iſſued originally from the Chancery, as is viſible from the Proceedings of the *Common Pleas* at this Day; the other of Equity by *Engliſh* Bill and Anſwer. Concerning the Antiquity of this Court there have been many Diſputes: But it's generally allowed, that the *Clergy* at firſt were the principal Suitors in it.

After the Reign of *Henry* the IVth the Laity begun to reliſh the *Chancery*, becauſe then they had as much Need of its Aſſiſtance as the Clergy; inſomuch that the Chancery was confirmed a Court of Equity by Acts of Parliament in *Henry* the VIth's Time,* when the beſt Authorities ſeem to fix it as a regular Court.

But, from the Reign of *Henry* the IVth, there followed a Series of unquiet and dangerous Times, thro' the Conteſts, between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, for the Crown; and theſe Diſorders obliged many to ſettle their Eſtates *in Truſt* and, on the frequent Breaches of theſe Settlements, Numbers had Recourſe to *Chancery* as a Court of *Equity*, where, upon due Application, they were ſure of Remedy: So that, from that Period, the Reputation of this Court inſenſibly extended itſelf.

The Chancellor is a Lord by his Office, and is reputed the ſecond Perſon in the Realm next the King, and,

* 15, 31, 33 Hen. VI.

and, by the Stat. 31 *Hen.* VIII. the Lord Chancellor hath the Precedency of all other great Officers of the Kingdom, and is of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council. It belongs to the Chancellor, *Ratione Officii*, to pronounce the Cauſe of Summons at the Beginning of the Parliament, and to be preſent at all the King's Councils, and thither to repair uncalled; under whoſe Hands paſs all Charters, Commiſſions, and Grants of the King, with the Sanction of the Broad Seal, without which all ſuch Inſtruments are of no Force; and the Reaſon may be ſhewn in a very few Words, becauſe the King in Intendment of Law is a Corporation, and therefore paſſes nothing firmly but under the ſaid Seal.

The Chancellors in common have no Commiſſion by Letters Patent; but Cardinal *Wolſey* declared, that he had a Commiſſion for holding the Seal during his Life; which, nevertheleſs was adjudged void; and he was ſo far convinced of it, that he gave up the Point as will hereafter be ſeen, and *Coke*, 4th Inſtit. Fol. 87, expreſly ſays, "*An antient Office muſt be* "*granted as it has been accuſtomed*". In ſhort, the Chancellor holds his Office no longer than the Seal is in his Hands,

The Form and Manner of ordaining a Chancellor, in the Time of King *Henry* the IId, was by *hanging* the Great Seal of *England* about the Neck of the Chancellor elect. But as to his Qualifications the *Author* of *Jus Sigilli* has given it us from *Sir John Davys*, who ſays, "That beſides his natural Faculties and Powers "of Mind, which he ought to have in great Per- "fection, he ſhould be furniſhed with all Learning that "hath any Relation to the Publick Good; *Divinity*, "*Law*, *Policy*, *Morality*, and eſpecially *Eloquence*, to "impart and communicate all the reſt; he ſhould "withal have a long and univerſal Experience in all "the Affairs of the Commonwealth; he ſhould be "accompliſhed and abſolute in all Points of *Gravity*,

"*Con-*

" *Conſtancy, Wiſdom, Temperance, Juſtice, Piety, Inte-*
" *grity*, and all other Virtues, fit for *Magiſtracy* and
" *Government*; yet ſo as the ſame be ſeaſoned, and
" tempered with *Affability, Gentleneſs, Courteſy*; how-
" beit without deſcending or diminiſhing himſelf,
" but ſtill retaining his Dignity, State and Honour;
" Briefly, he muſt be a Perſon of ſuch Virtue and
" Worthineſs, as his Life may be without Cenſure,
" and his Example a Mirror for all other Magi-
" ſtrates."

The Duty of the Lord Chancellor is ſet forth in the *Oath*, that his Lordſhip takes upon the Delivery of the Great Seal; which conſiſts of ſix Parts.

Firſt, *That well and truly he ſhall ſerve our Sovereign Lord the King, and his People.*

Secondly, *That he ſhall do right to all manner of People, Poor and Rich, after the Laws and Uſages of the Realm.*

Thirdly, *That he ſhall truly counſel the King, and his Counſel ſhall keep.*

Fourthly, *That he ſhall not know nor ſuffer the Hurt and Diſheriting of the King; or that the Rights of the Crown be decreaſed by any Means, as far as he may let it.*

Fifthly, *And if he may not let it, he ſhall make clearly and expreſly to be known to the King, with his true Advice and Counſel.*

Sixthly, *And that he ſhall do and purchaſe the King's Profit in all that he reaſonably may.*

The Chancellor's Juriſdiction at this Day is ſuch, that he is the chief Perſon for Matters of Juſtice (in civil Cauſes eſpecially) next to his Majeſty, and is the grand Diſpenſer of the King's Bounty and Mercy; for, whereas the other Judges are obliged to keep to the Rules of the Law, even tho' its apparently rigorous, the Lord Chancellor has a Power to moderate that

Rigour, and to pronounce that which ſeems to him equitable; or, as a learned Author has it, ordering all Things *juxta æquum & bonum*, nevertheleſs he is not to forget to obſerve Forms of Proceedings in common with the other great Officers of Juſtice, and to have Regard to the Circumſtances of the Caſes in Queſtion.

His Honour, *the Maſter of the Rolls*,* is the ſecond great Officer of this Court, (which Office is a very antient one) who with the other eleven Maſters in Chancery are the great Aſſiſtants of the Chancellor. *The Maſters are intruſted by the Court to ſtate and report Matters of Fact*,† *upon the Truth and Fairneſs of which Reports the Juſtice of the Decree of the Court muſt depend. They are even ſworn to adviſe the Chancellor himſelf.*

From the time the Cardinal entered on this high Office he aſſiduouſly attended it, heard Cauſes with great Patience, and made Decrees with much Juſtice, having always a ſpecial Regard to the Satisfaction of the Publick, by giving his Reaſons in open Court. This it was that gained him great Reſpect; for when Men ſaw his Willingneſs and Ability to redreſs Grievances, they were not ſlow in bringing Complaints before him; and this has obliged even ſuch as were no Friends to his Memory, to tranſmit it with due Reſpect. Among whom even *Echard* § (who in many Reſpects has too implicitly followed

*The Maſter of the Rolls was antiently ſtiled *Gardien des Rolls*, *Clericus Rotularus*, *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, whoſe Office is grantable either for Life, or at the Pleaſure of the King. See *Co.* 4th *Inſt.* 94.

Edward the IIId, in the 15th Year of his Reign, annexed a Houſe to the Office, which was before called *Domus Converſorum*, becauſe King *Henry* the IIId founded it for ſuch *Jews* as ſhould be converted to the true Religion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who were there to have Maintenance.

The preſent Maſter is the learned and Right Honourable *William Forteſcue*, Eſq;

† Vide Sir *Clement Wearg*'s Speech at Lord *Macclesfield*'s Trial.

§ Hiſt. *of* Eng. Vol. I p. 635.

followed the Tract of other Hiſtorians) gives us this great Character. " And the Character of *Juſt* cannot be " denied the Cardinal in all Affairs of publick Judi- " cature, of which he was *ever apparently ſtudious*; " ſo that where Diſorders were committed he generally " puniſhed with Severity; this he did both in Ec- " cleſiaſtical as well as Civil Affairs, *by which Means* " *he accidentally became a prime Inſtrument in that great* " *Work of the Reformation of the Church, which ſort* " *of Work is oftentimes, by the ordering of Providence,* " *effected by the Hands of wicked and ſcandalous Agents.**

* By putting the Words a little cloſer together, the *true Senſe* (if there is any *Senſe* in it) of the Quotation is this: *Cardinal* Wolſey, *who, as* Chancellor, *was apparently ever ſtudious to do Juſtice, by which Means he accidentally, by the ordering of Providence,* became *a wicked and ſcandalous Agent* to bring about an odd *ſort of a Work, the Reformation of the Church.*—We could almoſt defy any body to produce ſuch *Reaſoning* and ſuch *Inferences*, becauſe we cannot think any one could be capable of them, but the Tranſmitter of the following Story, the Rev. Dr *Echard*.

But others accounted it (the Victory *Oliver* obtained over the King at *Worceſter*) an *infernal Judgment*; concerning which we have a ſtrange Story in the laſt Part of the *Hiſtory of Independency*, which the Author ſays he received from a Perſon of Quality, *viz.* " It was believed, and " that not without ſome good " Cauſe, that *Cromwell*, the " ſame Morning that he defeated " the King's Army at *Worceſter*, " had Conference perſonally with " the Devil, with whom he " made a Contract, that to " have his Will then, and in " all Things elſe for ſeven Years " from that Day, he ſhould, at " the Expiration of the ſaid Years, " have him at his Command, " to do at his Pleaſure, both " with his Soul and Body." This is alſo related in other printed Books; but we have received a more full Account never yet publiſhed, which is here inſerted as a Thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the Diverſion than Satisfaction of the Reader. It is a Relation or Narrative of a valiant Officer called *Lindſey*, an intimate Friend of *Cromwell's*, the firſt Captain of his Regiment, and therefore commonly called Colonel *Lindſey*; which is to this Effect: " On the 3d of *Sept.* in the " Morning, *Cromwell* took this " Officer to a Wood Side, not " far from the Army, and bid " him *alight, and follow him* " *into that Wood, and to take* " *particular Notice of what he* " *ſaw and heard.* After they " had both alighted, and ſecured " their

But let us leave the Doctor and attend to my Lord *Herbert*, who is pleased to speak thus: "His "*Birth*, being otherwise so obscure and mean as no "Man had ever stood so single, for which Reason "also his chief Endeavour was not to displease any "great

"their Horses, and walked "some small Way into the "Wood, *Lindsey* began to turn "pale, and to be seized with "Horror from some unknown "Cause: Upon which *Crom-* "*well* asked him *how he did*, "*or how he felt himself?* He "answered, *That he was in such* "*a Trembling and Consternation*, "*that he never felt the like in* "*all the Conflicts and Battles* "*he had been engaged in*; but "whether it proceeded from "the Gloominess of the Place, "or the Temperament of his "Body, he knew not. *How* "*now*, said *Cromwell*, *what*, "*troubled with Vapours? Come* "*forward, Man!* They had "not gone above twenty Yards, "before *Lindsey* on a sudden "stood still, and cried out, *By* "*all that's good, he was seized* "*with such an unaccountable* "*Terror and Astonishment, that* "*it was impossible for him to stir* "*one Step further*. Upon which "*Cromwell* called him *Faint-* "*hearted Fool*, and bid him "*stand there and observe*, or *be* "*Witness*; and then advancing "to some Distance from him, "he met with a grave elderly "Man with a Roll of Parch- "ment in his Hand, who deli- "vered it to *Cromwell*, who ea- "gerly perused it. *Lindsey*, a "little recovered from his Fear, "heard several loud Words be- "tween them; particularly, "*Cromwell* said, *This is but for* "*seven Years; I was to have had it* "*for one and twenty, and it must* "*and shall be so*. The other "told him positively, *it could* "*not be for above seven*; upon "which *Cromwell* cried with "great Fierceness, *It should how-* "*ever be for fourteen Years*. But "the other peremptorily de- "clared, *It could not possibly be for* "*any longer Time*; *and if he* "*would not take it so, there were* "*others who would accept of it*. "Upon which *Cromwell* at last "took the Parchment, and re- "turning to *Lindsey* with great "Joy in his Countenance, he "cried, *Now*, Lindsey, *the Bat-* "*tle is our own! I long to be en-* "*gaged*. Returning out of the "Wood, they rode to the Ar- "my, *Cromwell*, with a Reso- "lution to engage as soon as "possible, and the other with "a Design to leave the Army "as soon. After the first Charge "*Lindsey* deserted his Post, and "rode away with all possible "Speed, Day and Night, till "he came into the County of "*Norfolk*, to the House of an "intimate Friend, one Mr. *Te-* "*rourgood*, Minister of the Pa- "rish of . *Cromwell*, "as soon as he missed him, "sent all Ways after him, with "a Promise of a great Reward "to any that should bring him "alive

" great Perſon," * which yet could not ſecure him; " for, as all Things paſſed thro' his Hands, ſo they " who failed in their Suits generally hated him: All " which, though it did but exaſperate his ill Nature, " yet this good Reſultance followed, *that it made him* " *take the more Care to be juſt, whereof alſo he obtained* " *the Reputation in his publick hearing of Cauſes; for* " *as he loved no-body*, ſo his *Reaſon carried him*". To ſearch into the Secrets of Men's Hearts, and find out ſiniſter Motives for worthy Actions, we will leave to the two moſt Reverend Gentlemen, Dr. *Echard*, and Dr. *Knight*; but, ſurely, in the Apprehenſion of Mankind in general, his doing ſtrict Juſtice was laudable, and the moſt probable Means of procuring him preſent Intereſt, Reputation, and a laſting Fame, whatever might be his Motive.

That

" alive or dead." Thus far the Narrative of *Lindſey* himſelf; but ſomething further is to be remembred, to confirm the Story.

When Mr. *Thorowgood* ſaw his Friend *Lindſey* come into his Yard, his Horſe and himſelf juſt tired, in a ſort of a Maze, ſaid, *How now, Colonel! We hear there is like to be a Battle ſhortly; what, fled from your Colours? A Battle!* ſaid the other, *Yes there has been a Battle, and I am ſure the King is beaten; but, if ever I ſtrike a Stroke for* Cromwell *again, may I periſh eternally; for I am ſure he has made a League with the Devil, and the Devil will have him in due Time.* Then deſiring his Protection from *Cromwell*'s Inquiſitors, he went in and related to him the whole Story, and all the Circumſtances, concluding with theſe remarkable Words, *That* Cromwell *would certainly die that Day ſeven Years that the Battle was fought.* The Strangeneſs of the Relation cauſed Mr. *Thorowgood* to order his Son *John*, then about twelve Years of Age, to write it in full Length in his *Common-place* Book, and to take it from *Lindſey*'s own Mouth. This *Common-place* Book, and likewiſe the ſame Story written in other Books, I am aſſured is ſtill preſerved in the Family of the *Thorowgoods*. But how far *Lindſey* is to be believed, and how far the Story is to be accounted incredible, is left to the Reader's Faith and Judgment, and not to any Determination of our own.

The Dr. has made the *Prodigies* on the Day of his Death (*Sept.* 3, 1650) of a Piece with his *Deviliſh* Contract, making the very *Winds* and his *Guts* equally riſe in Judgment againſt him.

* But Monſieur *Rapin* ſays, *he pleaſed no body but the King.*

That an ingenuous Diſpoſition and univerſal Benevolence towards Mankind are requiſite in thoſe who preſide in Courts of Judicature cannot be denied, and that *Wolſey* wanted not theſe ſhining Qualities almoſt all own, and ſeveral of his charitable and noble Foundations prove: And theſe Qualities, and many more with which he was endowed, one would reaſonably think, might have protected him from ſo many ſevere Cuts from his Reverend Brethren.

And as Monſieur *Rapin*, and others of the Cardinal's inveterate Enemies have endeavoured egregiouſly to miſrepreſent almoſt every Action of his, we think proper to ſubjoin two Authorities from Dr. *Fiddes*. "There are (ſays the Doctor) two conſiderable "Teſtimonies from *Eraſmus*'s great Friends, Sir *Thomas More* and *Ammonius*, relating to the Cardinal's "wiſe and equitable Conduct as Chancellor of *England*, that may be here not inconveniently cited; "and eſpecially as they tend to remove a Prejudice, "which has been entertained againſt the Cardinal, as "if he had uſed ſome indirect Methods towards ſuperſeding Archbiſhop *Warham* in that high Office. "Sir *Thomas More*'s Words are theſe, "**The Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *hath at length reſigned the Office of Chancellor, which Burthen, as you know, he had ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to lay down for ſome Years; and the long wiſhed for Retreat being now obtained, he enjoys a moſt pleaſant Receſs in his Studies, with the agreeable Reflection of having acquitted himſelf ſo honourably in that high Station*". "*The Cardinal of* York (continues Sir *Thomas* †) *by the King's Orders,* "*ſucceeds*

* *Archiepiſcopus* Cantuarienſis, *Officio Cancellarii, cujus onus, jam aliquot, ut ſcis, annos, minum quam laborabat exuere, tandem exſolutus eſt. Et deſideratum jam diu ſecretum nactus, gratiſſimo inter Literas otio & negotiorum bene à ſe geſtorum Recordatione fruitur.*

† *Princeps ei Cardinalem ſuffecit Eboracenſem. Qui ita ſe gerit ut ſpem quoque omnium, quanquam pro reliquis Ejus virtutibus maximam, longe exuperet. Et (quod eſt difficillimum) etiam poſt optimum Predeceſſorem valde probatur ac placeat.* Morus Eraſmo p. 221.

" *ſucceeds him, who diſcharges the Duties of that Poſt* " *ſo conſpicuouſly, as to ſurpaſs the Hopes of all, not-* " *withſtanding the great Opinion they had of his other* " *eminent Qualities; and, what is moſt rare, to give ſo* " *much Pleaſure and Satisfaction, after ſo excellent a* " *Predeceſſor*". " *Ammonius* writes to *Eraſmus* to " the ſame Effect, in regard to the foregoing Arti- " cles, and ſays,† *Your Archbiſhop, with the King's good* " *Leave, has laid down his Poſt, which that of* York, " *after much Importunity, has accepted of, and behaves* " *moſt beautifully*".* After citing theſe Proofs of the Cardinal's Moderation, from Gentlemen that were his Cotemporaries, with what Face can Monſieur *Rapin*, and other Authors, charge him with *Greedineſs* to ſtep into his Predeceſſor's Place.

Eraſmus, juſt at the Cloſe of this Year, obtained the Royal Licence to return again to *Baſil*, where he had not been long before he wrote to the Cardinal the following Letter:

Eraſmus returns to Baſil.

Eraſmus *to the moſt Rev. Lord* Thomas, *Cardinal and Archbiſhop of* York.

" *Moſt Reverend Prelate*,

" I am very ſorry that I had not an Opportunity " of a longer, and more particular Conference with " your Highneſs, before I left *England*. My laſt Re- " fuge, and the Sheet-anchor of my Felicity. I " had fixed in you; but I was in haſte to publiſh St. " *Jerom*, a voluminous and celebrated Work, and, " if I miſtake not, a Work which will be immortal, " beſides its being pious and edifying. This it was " which

† *Tuus Cantuarienſis, cum bona regis venia, Magiſtratu ſe abdicavit. Quem Eboracenſis impendio rogatus ſuſcepit, & pulcherrime gerit.*

Andreas Ammonius Eraſmo.

* Whether the Compariſon, in a good Degree, will not hold between the late great Chancellor, Lord *Talbot*, and his preſent Succeſſor, the Right Hon. *Philip* Lord *Hardwick*, who fills the Chair with ſo much Sagacity and Eminence, we ſhall leave the Learned in the Law to determine.

" which I had ſo much at Heart, that I neglected all " other Buſineſs to proſecute it.

" The Roads in this Part of the World were al- " ways obnoxious to Robberies, but never more than " at this Time; and then the *Rhine*, being ſwelled " with Snows and Rains, had overflowed and made " ſo general an Inundation, eſpecially about *Straſ-* " *bourg*, that our travelling might more truly be " called ſwimming, than riding. However, I deſpiſed " every thing if ſo be I could but get St. *Jerom* pub- " liſhed. There is a new *Greek* Teſtament printed " as it was written by the Apoſtles, with a *Latin* " Tranſlation, and Annotations by me. Some other " Things alſo I have publiſhed of leſs Conſequence. " And yet theſe Trifles are a greater Trouble to me, " than thoſe arduous Affairs of State are to you. " When, therefore, we have finiſhed theſe Under- " takings, we will haſten our Return to *England*, eſ- " pecially if your Eminency's Goodneſs and Genero- " ſity will, in the mean Time, be providing ſomething " for me as a Refreſhment, both to my Mind and Bo- " dy, after the Fatigues I have undergone from theſe " Employments. May a good State of Health be " enjoy'd by your moſt Reverend Lordſhip, to whom " I wholly devote and dedicate myſelf.

" *Baſil, Feb.* 3, 1516."

About this time the Reverend Dr. *Colet*, a famous Divine, met with a very kind Treatment from the Cardinal, which Account we ſhall take from Dr. *Knight*, who tells us, " That the Biſhop of *London* " had proſecuted the Dr. for an Heretick, upon " which he laid his Complaint before the Cardinal; " that the Cardinal paid a particular Deference and " Reſpect to Dr. *Colet*; and took care that he ſhould " peaceably poſſeſs what he had without any Diſtur- " bance, and ſtopt the further Proſecutions againſt " him."

" Dr.

Dr. *Colet* was born in *London* in the Year 1466. He was Son of Sir *Henry Colet*, ſometime Lord Mayor of *London*; made Dean of St. *Paul*'s, as ſome ſay, in the Year 1509; but others aver, that it was not till the Year 1512, when he founded his School near St. *Paul*'s, which he called after the Name of that Cathedral, and continues to this Day in a flouriſhing Condition.* The firſt Maſter was the famous *William Lily*, whoſe Grammar and Learning is very well known to the *Britiſh* Nation. The Dr. was an intimate Friend of *Eraſmus*'s, as ſufficiently appears from the Epiſtles that paſſed between thoſe two great Men now extant. He lived till the Year 1519, and was buried in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, where a handſome Monument was erected to his Memory; but, being much worn out by Time, was, ſome few Years ſince, repaired by the *Mercer's* Company, who were appointed Truſtees of his Will, and have all along nobly and faithfully executed the great Truſt repoſed in them, as well to their Honour, as to the great Service of the City of *London* and the Kingdom in general.

An Account of Dr. Collet's *Riſe*, &c.

Some little time after Archbiſhop *Wolſey* was declared a Cardinal, his *Royal Maſter* wrote him a moſt affectionate Letter with his own Hand, which, for the Novelty of it, we ſhall here introduce.

" *My Lord Cardinal*,

" I recommend me unto you as " heartily as I can, and I am right glad " to hear of your good Health, which " I pray God may long continue. So it is, that I " have received your Letters, to the which, becauſe " they aſk long anſwering, I have made an An- " ſwer by my Secretary: But two Things there " are which are ſo ſecret that they cauſe me at this " time

The King's Letter to Cardinal Wolſey.

* Among other eminent Perſonages educated at this School were the late Victorious *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, the preſent Earl of *Wilmington*, the late Lord *Orrery*, Sir *John Strange*, Kt. &c.

" time to write to you myſelf: The one is, that I " truſt the Queen, my Wife, is with Child; the o- " ther is the chief Cauſe why I am ſo loth to repair " to *London*, becauſe now is partly her dangerous " Time, and likewiſe becauſe I would remove her as " little as poſſible. Now, my Lord, I write this unto " you not as an aſſured Thing, but as a Thing " wherein I have great Hope and Likelihood; and alſo " I do well know that this News will be comfortable " to you to underſtand, therefore I do write it unto " you. No more unto you at this Time, *Niſi quod* " *Deus velit inceptum opus bene finiri.*

" Written with the Hand of your loving Prince

" HENRY R."

Affairs of Spain. 1516.

FERDINAND was now grown old and ſickly: As his Age and Sickneſs increaſed, he did not care to reſt long in a Place, but continually moved up and down.

Charles of *Auſtria*, hearing of his Grandfather's Illneſs, ſent *Adrian*, his Preceptor, into *Spain*, to take care of his Intereſt, with full Power likewiſe to take upon him the Government of *Spain*, in caſe *Ferdinand* ſhould ſuddenly die, before he could otherwiſe provide for the Safety of that State.

Adrian, purſuant to his Maſter's Inſtructions, ſet out for King *Ferdinand*'s Court; upon his Arrival there he demanded an Audience of the King, which was at firſt refuſed him; (tho' great Endeavours were uſed to prevail on his *Catholick* Majeſty, to ſee a Perſon who came from one ſo nearly related to him) but after ſome time, as his Illneſs increaſed, he changed his Mind; for, tho' at firſt he could not be perſuaded to prepare for Death, or ſee his Father Confeſſor, who often endeavoured to get Admittance, he now found it was in vain to defer it, and that his End drew near, he then ſent for his Confeſſor, received the Sacraments, and acquieſced with the Perfor-

mance

FERDINAND KING of SPAIN.

De Poor Sculp.

mance of other Rites of the Church. He alſo ſent for his Council, to adviſe with them, whether he had not better leave his Dominions in *Spain* to his Grandſon, *Ferdinand*, inſtead of *Charles*, who, he ſaid, perhaps could not come over to govern himſelf.

The Council unanimouſly begged him not to alter the Succeſſion, which might occaſion Wars and other Calamities. This Repreſentation had the deſired Effect, and *Ferdinand*, when his Council were retired, admitted *Adrian* to his Preſence, and made his Will.

Death of King Ferdinand of Spain.

On the 23d of *January* he died of the Dropſy, at a *poor Inn* at *Madrigalego*, in the 64th Year of his Age and 42d of his Reign. Many believe the Potion, that his Queen gave him, in hopes of having Children by him, contributed greatly to deſtroy his Conſtitution.

Ferdinand ordered his Body to be buried at *Granada*. An Aſtrologer having told him he ſhould die at *Madrigalo*, he would never go to that Town.

Guicciardin relates, "That *Ferdinand* was a King excellent in Council, and ſo furniſhed with all Virtues, "that he deſerved no Reproof, if he had been conſtant in keeping his Promiſes; for, touching the "Charge of Niggardlineſs, it was not true, as appeared "on the Survey of his Eſtate after his Death." This Author further remarks, "That, to the excellent "Virtues of this Prince, was joined a moſt rare and "perpetual Felicity during the whole Courſe of his "Life, excepting the Death of his only Son:" For, as to the Death of his Son-in-law, that added to his Greatneſs, the Kingdom of *Caſtile* reverting to him again thereon. Beſides, ſeveral other Incidents contributed towards making him great; he being Second Son to *John*, King of *Arragon*, he came to the Crown by the Death of his eldeſt Brother, and gained the Kingdom of *Caſtile* in Right of his Wife; after ſubduing the other Competitors to the ſame, he annexed the King-

dom of *Granada* to his Empire, as before obſerved; (which the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Faith had uſurped almoſt Eight hundred Years) *Naples*, and the great Diſcoveries in the *Weſt-Indies*, with the Conqueſt of *Navarre*, the Principality of *Oran*, and many other Places of Importance upon the Coaſt of *Africa* ſtill added to his Grandeur. He kept always the upper Hand of his Enemies, and cloaked his Ambition and Covetouſneſs of other Princes Kingdoms and States under Pretence of Zeal to Religion, and an holy Affection to the Common-wealth.

By this Monarch's Death a Pope and Three great Kings, in about ſeven Years, went to their laſt Account, *Julius* the IId, *Henry* the VIIth, *Lewis* the XIIth, and *Ferdinand*. The ſecond and fourth were not unlike in Temper, each having every thing as far as he could for his own Benefit. *Henry*, during his Life, made *Ferdinand* his Dupe to carry the Points he had then depending, whilſt *Ferdinand* thought he was made uſe of in Matters that were greatly for his own Intereſt; and He at laſt perceiving the Uſe *Henry* made of him, in return made the ſame Uſe of his Son, *Henry* the VIIIth, as his Father had made of him. But when the great *Wolſey* came to be firſt Miniſter, he quickly diſcovered all old *Ferdinand*'s Drifts, other Meaſures were taken, and young *Henry*, by purſuing his Primier's Advice, ſoon turned the Tables upon his Father-in-law. Witneſs the Treaty, in the Year 1514, between *Henry* and *Lewis*, concluded without the Privity either of him or *Maximilian*; and *Henry* at laſt learned to take as little Notice of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador as King *Ferdinand* and *Julius* the IId had before of his, when they thought they had ſerved their own Turns, by obtaining the Retreat of *Lewis* the XIIth out of *Italy* in the Year 1512.

Though *Ferdinand* was counted as ſaving as *Henry* the VIIth, yet the Caſe was vaſtly different at their Death, the firſt leaving his Succeſſor, though he had no

no *Indies* to be ſupplied from, an almoſt immenſe Sum in ready Money: Whereas the other, who had the *Indies* at command, died ſo poor as to leave ſcarce ſufficient to bury him: But then it may be obſerved, that *Henry* the VIIIth kept himſelf ſingle, after the Death of his Queen; whereas *Ferdinand* married an artful Wife in his old Age, who was a Woman of great Activity, and very likely was the Means of exhauſting both his Wealth and his Strength.

Charles *of* Auſtria *proclaimed King of* Spain.

After the Death of *Ferdinand* the whole Kingdom of *Spain* came of courſe to *Johanna* his eldeſt Daughter; but, by Reaſon of her Defect of Underſtanding, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, her eldeſt Son, then in the *Low Countries*, was proclaimed King of *Spain*. Whereupon *Adrian*, then upon the Spot, produced to the Council Letters Patent, whereby he was conſtituted Regent in his Maſter's Abſence: But *Ximenes* refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch on Pretence, that *Charles* had no Authority to appoint a Regent, before he was received as King. However, to prevent Diſturbances on that Head, it was ſoon agreed, that the Affairs of the Government ſhould be conducted by *Ximenes* and *Adrian*, as Joint-regents, and all Diſpatches to be ſigned by both Parties: But, notwithſtanding this Agreement, *Ximenes* left *Adrian* only the bare Title of Joint-regent, for he diſcharged all the Functions of a ſole Governor.

When King *Charles* heard what had been tranſacting in *Spain*, he wrote to the Council of *Caſtile*, aſſuring them, that he would come over with all Speed; to Cardinal *Ximenes*, recommending to him the Care of the Government; to Queen *Germane*, comforting and aſſuring her of all Honour and Reſpect; and to Prince *Ferdinand*, aſſuring him, that he would be both a Brother and a Father to him. But there were not wanting Perſons, who endeavoured to ſet *Charles* againſt *Ximenes*, in which they ſucceeded; though *Charles* did

did not for the preſent think proper to ſhew his Diſpleaſure. On the other Hand, though the Queen his Mother, was diſtracted, ſeveral Perſons reſorted to her, and inculcated ſo much Ill into her againſt the King, her Son, that ſhe would never call him any thing but Prince.

Rebellion in Sicily.

Upon the Death of King *Ferdinand*, *d'Hugo de Moncada* was Viceroy of *Sicily*, and reſided at *Palermo*, where the two Earls of *Camcroſa* and *Goliſano* had ſo far incenſed the Rabble againſt the Viceroy, that they took Arms and beſieged him in his Palace, from whence with much Difficulty he eſcaped to *Meſina*. In the mean time they broke into his Palace, plundered it, and ſet ſeveral Priſoners at Liberty. King *Charles*, upon hearing this News, ſent the Earl of *Monteleon*, his Viceroy over to that Iſland, with a Body of Troops. Theſe Forces, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome of the Prime Nobility, ſoon broke the Band of the Mutineers, and, after taking ſeveral Priſoners, ſome were immediately executed, and others were impriſoned, inſomuch that, before the Year expired, the Peace of the Iſland was reſtored.

The Oppoſition of John d'Albert

The next Difficulty King *Charles* had to encounter, on his ſucceeding to the Crown of *Spain*, was this, *John d'Albert*, the deprived King of *Navarre*, got a Body of Troops together, conſiſting of 1000 Foot and ſome Horſe, and put at their Head the famous Marſhal *Peter de Navarro*, who he had prevailed with to enter into his Service. Theſe Forces marched into that Kingdom, and King *John*'s Affairs at firſt ſeemed to bear a favourable Aſpect, which gave great Uneaſineſs to Cardinal *Ximenes*, the Kingdom being then in a defenceleſs Condition. However, no time was loſt in raiſing Forces, in order to oppoſe King *John*'s Projects, and the Troops were no ſooner raiſed, but they marched to meet the Enemy, under the Command

mand of Colonel *Ferdinand de Villalva*, who ſoon came up with King *John*'s little Army, engaged, and totally defeated them, and took General *Peter Navarro* Priſoner, who was ſent into *Spain*, where he was cloſly confined for ſome Years, and at laſt, through the great Vexation, and vaſt Mortification of his aſpiring Spirit, as it was ſaid, murdered himſelf in Priſon; and thus ended the Life of this gallant Soldier.

Peter Navarro taken Priſoner, and dies miſerable.

King *John* and his Queen, upon receiving the News of this Defeat of his Army, died, as ſome thought, of Grief, which put an End to the Troubles in thoſe Parts much ſooner than was expected.

The deprived King of Navarre *dies of Grief.*

But this was not all the Fatigue the Cardinal met with, there was not wanting many diſcontented Perſons in *Spain*, who proceeded ſo far as to take Arms againſt him, yet he found Means to quel thoſe Diſorders, and preſerve his Command till the Arrival of his Royal Maſter into *Spain*, tho' it happened not this Year.

As *Ximenes* and *Wolſey* were now two of the greateſt Miniſters in *Europe*, we ſhall here endeavour to draw a ſort of Parallel between them; *Ximenes*, in reſpect to his Birth, had the Advantage of the Cardinal of *England*. In their firſt Eſſays towards making their way into the World, they were under the ſame Diſadvantages, and, after they appeared more openly upon the Stage of it, met with the like ignominious Treatment, though different as to the Duration and other Circumſtances of it; but thoſe early Rebuffs produced in the Sequel a Train of Events very favourable to them both, ſo difficult it is to make a Judgment of what may happen to us in future Time from any preſent Appearances.

A Parallel between the Cardinals Ximenes *and* Wolſey.

The Merit of theſe two great Men could not be obſcured, even under Circumſtances of Diſgrace; they ſtill

ſtill found generous Patrons, who did not think, as Perſons of little Merit in high Stations ſometimes do, That the Misfortunes of Men afford a reaſonable Pretence why they ſhould not be encouraged or preferred: But yet their Manner, as to their Conduct of Life, was ſomewhat different. *Ximenes*, after running through a Scene of Actions on the Stage of publick Affairs, which gave him a Diſtaſte of the World, made him chuſe to retire to a Cloiſter.

The Temper of Cardinal *Wolſey* ſeems to be very different, for his Fatigues and Diſappointments rather inclined him to the civil Life and Converſation, though, as to the exterior and devotional Part of Religion, he always ſhewed great Regard; he alſo was zealous in reforming ſcandalous Abuſes among the Monaſtick Orders, and the regular Clergy of all Diſtinctions, as will be hereafter more fully ſeen.

The great Revenues of *Ximenes* were employed in Works of Piety and Charity, and in anſwering the End for which the Donation of them was originally made to the Church. The Poor, whom he called his Lords and Proprietors, received one Moiety, the other was appropriated, neceſſary Deductions being made for the Expences of his Family, towards founding Monaſteries and Colleges, and endowing them after a proper and liberal Manner. Among the reſt he had one excellent Deſign, which he lived to execute, and whereof the Learned World at this Day every where reaps the Benefit; in order to adjuſt and correct as exact an Edition as might be made of the *Holy Scriptures*, in *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Chaldee*, he bought up, at a vaſt Charge, all the Manuſcript Bibles he could any where hear of; a Copy of which, when finiſhed, being preſented to him, with Eyes and Hands lift up to Heaven, he ſaid, *My God, I return thee immortal Thanks for granting my Deſires of good Succeſs to ſee this Work compleated.* Then, turning to his Domeſticks, *he adds, It is true,*

my

my Friends, God hath been pleaſed to crown my Labours with Succeſs, in many important Affairs, for the Good of the State; but there is not any thing you ought to rejoice with me more in, than the happy Accompliſhment of this Impreſſion, and the Explanation of the Bible in four Languages.

The Cardinal of *England* did not leſs diſcover the Greatneſs of his Mind, in applying his large Revenues for the Advancement of Piety and Learning. It is true, that, inſtead of erecting, he deſtroyed ſeveral *Religious Houſes*, (the Reaſon for which will be accounted for hereafter) but this was ſo far from being inconſiſtent with the great and magnificent Things he had in View, that it prepared the Way towards the Accompliſhment of them: And as to the Republick of Letters, it may be affirmed, without derogating from the Glory of *Ximenes*, that Cardinal *Wolſey* was no leſs a Friend to it; his Foundations were larger, and his Endowments, had they been preſerved upon his Plan, more noble and opulent; to which we may ſubjoin, he had formed a Deſign, as to the Charge and Difficulty of executing it, not inferior to that of *Ximenes*, in his Edition of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, which was, to cauſe all the Manuſcripts in the *Vatican* to be tranſcribed for the Service of his Country.

While the Thoughts of theſe great Men were taken up in promoting the Intereſt of Learning and Religion, they did not neglect the Services of their reſpective Maſters, or the Affairs of State. They were indefatigable both in ſuper-intending the civil Œconomy, and in taking Care there was no want of military Preparations. It was a ſtanding Maxim with them both, that no Prince could be conſiderable, except he was either in Action, or had made viſible Preparations for Action.

Ximenes's Humility did not exempt him from the Charge of Ambition, nor his pious Works from that of Avarice. The Wars, which he adviſed his Ma-

ſter to proſecute, and in ſome of which he perſonally commanded, as we have before related, gave occaſion of Cenſure to his Enemies, who reproached him as acting unſuitable to his Character, which, they judged, ſhould have inclined him more to pacifick Meaſures than to War. "Nothing, cried they, "could be more abominable, than to ſee a Prieſt, "an Archbiſhop, and a Cardinal embrue his Hands "in human Blood."

The Cardinal of *England* was alſo cenſured on all thoſe Accounts, except that of having a military Command; and though theſe Calumnies were encouraged by the great Men in both Courts, to whom the Power, of which the Cardinals were poſſeſſed, had rendered them invidious; yet the two Kings, their Maſters, were ſo ſenſible of their Integrity and Zeal for the publick Service, that the whole Deſign, projected to bring them into Diſgrace, was impracticable; till *Wolſey*, indeed, at laſt was removed; but not ſo much by the Weight of all his Enemies in Conjunction, which he had long withſtood, as by the Artifice and Inſinuation of a ſingle Woman.*

Ximenes puniſhed with Rigour wherever he could diſcover the Authors of Violence and Injuſtice, and ſuch eſpecially, who, in Breach of the Truſt repoſed in them, had *embezzled the publick Moneys*, and the like Inſtances of Juſtice may provoke particular Perſons, who feel, in one Degree or other, the Effect of it; yet in general they recommend Magiſtrates to Eſteem among thinking Men, for ſuch neceſſarily love Order and Juſtice.

Cardinal *Wolſey* appears, upon the Compariſon, to have had an equal Regard to his Maſter's Honour and the Good of the State, it being allowed on all Hands, that, in his judicial Inquiries and Proceedings, he acted with a becoming Severity, of which we ſhall immediately give ſeveral Inſtances; and this leads us to attend the Affairs of *England*.

The

* Anna Bullein.

The different Buſineſs the Cardinal was employed in, relating to his Offices as well ſpiritual as temporal, one would think might have ſo taken up his Time, that he could not have had Leiſure to have attended any other Matters; yet ſuch was his extreme Application to the Affairs of the Government, that this Year was no ſooner opened, but he beſtowed Part of his Time in reforming the Abuſes which had crept into the different Offices, concerning the Revenue and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in the Courts where he did not immediately preſide. Firſt, he began with inquiring into the State of the *Exchequer*, and finding it much exhauſted, thro' the King's Liberality, and the Call of publick Affairs, it put him upon bringing to a ſtrict Account the different Perſons intruſted with the Receipt of the Publick Revenue. By the Accounts he found ſeveral great Perſons were indebted to his Majeſty in large Sums, the Getting-in of which, thro' the Negligence or Treachery of the Officers, had been neglected. Among thoſe Debtors, the Duke of *Suffolk* appeared to be one: The Debt being demanded, and he then unable to anſwer it, he thought proper to retire into the Country, where, by living frugal, he hoped to enable himſelf, out of the Income of his Eſtate, in Time, to pay it off.* Others immediately paid into the Treaſury what they reſpectively owed; and, where Satisfaction was not to be had by fair Means, Proſecutions were commenced, in order to compel Payment, which had ſo good an Effect that Money became more plenty, and enabled his Majeſty to anſwer the Exigencies of the Publick, without burthening his Subjects at that Juncture. *Affairs of England.* 1516.

After *Wolſey* had reformed theſe Neglects, he next pro-

* We wiſh this prudent Step was brought into common Practice; becauſe it might be the ſaving of many good antient Families, as well as of many fine Gentlemen.

proceeded to enquire into publick Miſdemeanours, ſuch as *Perjury*, *Rapes*, *Oppreſſions of the Poor*, *Riots*, and other enormous Crimes; and thoſe as were accuſed of any of theſe Crimes were proſecuted without reſpect of Perſons; and ſuch as were found guilty were publickly puniſhed, or ſeverely fined: Inſomuch that it was obſerved, *Perjury* in particular ſoon became much leſs frequent. In ſhort, the Cardinal, for exerting himſelf in bringing notorious Offenders to Juſtice, was *then* much applauded (as Lord *Herbert* and other Authors own) both by the King and the People: And, for the more ſpeedy puniſhing the Crimes we have laſt mentioned, a Court was erected, where the Lords of the Council, and many of the Nobility ſat. The Court of Requeſt was by the Cardinal's Means inſtituted; and he ordained, as *Godwin* affirms, many other Things in the Civil Government of the Kingdom, that were very acceptable to the People, and are in Uſe even at this Day, by which he manifeſted his Wiſdom and Love of his Country.

Eraſmus upon this Occaſion remarks, "That the "Cardinal proceeded in ſuch a Way, as to bid fair "to render *Britain* a more glorious Nation, than it "ever was before; for he ſo throughly purged the "Realm of Malefactors and evil Doers of every ſort, "that is was not more free from Poiſons and wild "Beaſts, than from noxious Men. That, by his "Authority, he cut in ſunder many perplexed Law-"Suits, no leſs happily than *Alexander* did the *Gordian* "Knott; and that with much Wiſdom he compoſed "the Differences amongſt great Men."

Wolſey made Legate à Latere.

Whilſt Cardinal *Wolſey* was thus worthily employed at home, his Holineſs was reſolved not to be behind hand in diſtinguiſhing this great Prelate. He conferred on him the Title of his *Legate à Latere*; for the Execution of which Office the King, by his Letters Patent, conſented.

Caven-

Controverſy between the Biſhops of Canterbury and York.

Cavendiſh gives us an Account of a Diſpute that aroſe between the Archbiſhops *Warham* and *Wolſey*, with reſpect to the latter's cauſing his Croſſes to be borne before him in the Province of *Canterbury*; which our Readers may ſee, *p.* 9, *&c.* in the Note.

When Archbiſhop *Wolſey* was made a Cardinal, another Matter aroſe between theſe two Prelates, the Cardinal inſiſting on taking Place of his Grace of *Canterbury*, which gave riſe to an Enquiry how far the Cardinal could juſtify this Demand. A learned Gentleman,* in a Letter to Dr. *Fiddes*, remarks, "That, "even from our own Hiſtorians, it appears *Archbi-* "*ſhops* formerly took Place of *Cardinals*." And we find, that *Cardinals*, tho' *Legates*, yielded the Precedency to *Biſhops*, which was obſerved in the Council of *Vienne*: But this was afterwards altered; for, when *Kemp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was made Cardinal, he claimed in the Houſe of Lords the Precedence of *Chicele*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and the latter, refuſing to comply with the Demand, it was referred to the Pope, who determined it in Favour of *Kemp*. Upon which Occaſion the Pope writ the Archbiſhop a Letter to the Effect following, "That the Degree in "the Church next the Papacy were the *Cardinals*: "—That they were thoſe venerable Prieſts mention- "ed by *Moſes*, in the 17th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*: "—That they were afterwards inſtituted by St. *Peter*, "and were to be accounted Members of the Pope's "Body:—And that the whole Church did turn upon "them as upon its Hinges. Seeing therefore, that it "hath obtained, by the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of "particular Churches, that, in the ſame Province, a "Prieſt ſhould take Place of a Deacon, a Biſhop of "a Prieſt, and an Archbiſhop of a Biſhop: So much "more, by the Laws of the Catholick Church, "ought the Cardinals to preſide over all Biſhops and "Arch-

* *John Anſtis*, Eſq;

" Archbiſhops, as they are ſet over the univerſal " Church by the Pope. *Laſtly*, he exhorted and in- " treated the Archbiſhop to ſubmit to the Cuſtoms " of the Church of *Rome*, and give Place to Cardinal " *Kemp*; promiſing both him and the whole See of " *Canterbury* all the Kindneſſes that could be expected " from a moſt affectionate Father."

Biſhop Burnet's *Remark thereon.*

Biſhop *Burnet* gives us ſome Account of this Controverſy as follows. " Even after *Wolſey* was Cardinal, *War-* " *ham*, as Lord Chancellor, took place " of him, as appears from the Journals of the Houſe " of Peers, 7 *Hen.* VIII. And afterwards (*viz.* after " that *Wolſey* was made Lord Chancellor) he gave " him place, as appears on many Occaſions, and " particularly in the Letter written to the Pope in " 1530, which the Cardinal ſubſcribed before " *Warham.*"

Harmer's *Reply.*

Mr. *Harmer*, in examining his Lordſhip's Account, ſays, " many Miſtakes and falſe " Conſequences are contained in theſe " Lines: For, 1ſt, *Wolſey*, in the Quality of Lord " Chancellor, took place of *Warham*: It would fol- " low, that the Lord Chancellor, as ſuch, ought to " precede the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the contrary " of which is known to be, and to have always been " true. 2*dly*, If *Warham*, when Lord Chancellor, " took place of *Wolſey*, when Cardinal, in the Houſe " of Peers, it doth not follow, that at that Time he " took place of him elſewhere as the Hiſtorian " would inſinuate: For in the Houſe the Chancellor " precedeth all other Peers, and even the Archbiſhop " of *Canterbury* among the reſt, as being, in Vertue " of his Office, Speaker of the Houſe; nor could " *Wolſey* be ſo extravagantly vain as to deſire the " Great Seal, only that he might precede *Warham* " in the Parliament: For, as the Hiſtorian obſerves, " he affected to govern without Parliaments; and ac- " cord-

" cordingly for many Years, after he obtained
" the Great Seal, had no Parliament; and, even
" after the Seal was taken from him, he ſtill took
" place of *Warham* in the Houſe of Peers. *3dly*, If,
" in the Letter wrote to the Pope in 1530, the Car-
" dinal ſubſcribed before *Warham*, he could not do
" this in the Quality of Lord Chancellor, as the Hiſ-
" torian imagines; for the Great Seal had been tak-
" en from him in the preceding Year, 1529, *Oct.* 17.
" So that ſome other Reaſon of *Wolſey*'s Precedence
" muſt be inquired into, and that Reaſon is very
" obvious; for *Wolſey* took place of *Warham*, even
" before and after he was Lord Chancellor, as being
" Cardinal. This is confirmed by the Relation of
" *Cavendiſh*, who, in his Life, ſaith, *That* Warham
" *checked him for his Preſumption*, in *carrying himſelf*
" *as his Equal; but that, ſhortly after*, Wolſey obtained
" to be made a Cardinal, and thereby got the better
" of *Warham* in that Point."

But to return: We have now traced the Cardinal from his Original to the Poſſeſſion of four of the greateſt Offices that any one Subject ever enjoyed, viz, *Archbiſhop*, *Cardinal*, *Lord High Chancellor*, and *Legate à Latere:* And *Cavendiſh* hath fully ſet forth with what Magnificence he appeared Abroad, as alſo the Grandeur of his Family; which, if it were not related by ſo honeſt an Hiſtorian as himſelf, it could ſcarcely be believed. [*See* p. 19 *to* 28, *in the Note.*]

An ingenious Hiſtorian obſerved, " That leaping
" high, and at once into Preferment, was a plain
" Prognoſtick of as ſpeedy a Fall; but climbing by
" Degrees was an Argument of a ſure Footing, tho'
" the Aſcent was ſlippery."

Another Author, upon the ſame Occaſion, relates,
" That too ſudden Proſperity in the Beginning com-
" monly ruins a Man in the End; for how many
" Men had ended better, if they had not begun too
" well: It's the Emphaſis of Miſery to be happy too

" ſoon;

" ſoon; whereas Greatneſs growing up by degrees " gives Men a laſting Settlement."

And ſays our inimitable Countryman, Mr. *Pope*, to his Friend *Gay*, upon his quitting the Court. " Bleſſed is he that expects nothing, for he ſhall ne- " ver be diſappointed. You are happily rid of many " curſed Ceremonies, as well as of many ill and vi- " cious Habits, of which few or no Men eſcape the " Infection, who are hackniedand trameled in the " way of a Court. There is a Thing, the only " Thing which Kings and Queens cannot give you, " (for they have it not to give) Liberty, and which " is worth all they have; which as yet, I thank " God, *Engliſhmen* need not aſk from their Hands. — " The only Steps to the Favours of the Great are " ſuch Complacencies, ſuch Compliances, ſuch diſtant " Decorums, as delude them in their Vanities, or " engage them in their Paſſions. He is generally the " greateſt Favourite who is the falſeſt; and when " a Man, by ſuch vile Gradations, arrives at the " Height of Grandeur and Power, he is then at beſt " in a Circumſtance to be hated, and in a Condi- " tion to be hanged, for ſerving their Ends: So ma- " ny a *Miniſter* has found it!

Birth of a Princeſs.

On the 18th of *February* the *Queen* was delivered of a Princeſs, ſhe was chriſtened *Mary*, and, after the Death of *Edward* the VIth, became Queen. The King did not expreſs much Joy at the Birth of this Princeſs, his Heart being ſet upon having a Prince.

Dr. Standiſh *cited before the Convocation.*

About this time Dr. *Standiſh*, having given Offence to the Clergy, by ſome Doctrines he had advanced at St. *Paul's*, was ſummoned before the Convocation; and, in Obedience thereto, he appeared. Here the Doctor was aſked the following Queſtions. " 1ſt, Whether it is lawful for a *Temporal* Judge " to bring any Clerks before him in a Court of Juſ- " tice,

" tice, &c. 2*dly*, Whether the firſt Orders are holy " Orders, or not? 3*dly*, Whether a Conſtitution made " by the Pope and Clergy is binding, in a Country " where the contrary Practice has all along prevailed? " 4*thly*, Whether a Temporal Prince can check the " Proceedings of Biſhops, who miſbehave themſelves, " in correcting thoſe under their Juriſdiction?" Another Day he attended, when Archbiſhop *Warham* delivered him a Paper containing the ſame in effect with the Articles, and a Day was aſſigned him to put in his Anſwer. The Doctor, apprehending the Convocation would treat him with Rigour, becauſe he had pleaded for the King, in a certain Cauſe between the King and the Abbot of *Winchelcombe*, applied to his Majeſty for Protection. Upon this the Clergy made their Excuſe to the King, acquainting him, that they had no Quarrel againſt the Doctor upon the ſcore of his pleading againſt the ſaid Abbot; that this Pretence of his was mere Calumny; that their Exceptions againſt *Standiſh* were for certain publick Diſcourſes he had delivered at St. *Paul*'s and other Places, long after he had been entertained as the King's Council: In which Diſcourſes he had publickly maintained the Opinions mentioned in the Bill exhibited againſt him; that theſe Propoſitions were directly contrary to the Law and Liberties of the holy Church; that they were bound to endeavour the Suppreſſion of ſuch Innovations; and therefore begged the King's Aſſiſtance purſuant to the Oath at his Coronation.

Upon this Application the Temporal Lords and Judges, at the Inſtance of ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons, intreated the King to maintain his Royal Juriſdiction; becauſe this, as they ſuggeſted, was likewiſe part of his Coronation Oath; and requeſted, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſhelter Dr. *Standiſh* from the Malice of the Clergy; for that the principal Matter of their Bill againſt him,

and that which the Abbot declaimed on in his Sermon, were in effect the ſame Things, and tended both to maim the Juriſdiction of the *Temporal* Courts, and exempt the Clergy from Puniſhment.

The King, having weighed the Requeſt of both Parties, called Dr. *Veſey*, Dean of his Chapel, to him, and commanded him, upon his Faith and Allegiance, to declare the Truth, according to the beſt of his Knowledge, as to the firſt Queſtion put to Dr. *Standiſh*, *Whether the trying of Clerks, in criminal Cauſes, before* temporal *Judges, is directly contrary to the Law of God, and the Liberties of the holy Church, as ſome of the Spirituality pretended?* To this, after mature Deliberation, Dr. *Veſey*, with all the Solemnity the Affair required, anſwered in the Affirmative, aſſigning ſeveral Reaſons for his Opinion.*

Soon

* Before *Henry* the IId's Time the Archbiſhops of *England*, by the Pope's Encouragement, ordered their Suffragans, Biſhops, to take into their Jails all Clerks that were guilty of Crimes, whether they were for Murder, Manſlaughter, Theft, or Breaches of the Peace, and there to keep and protect them from the King's Juſtices.

But this Prince had it much at Heart, to leſſen the Authority of the Clergy; and, in order thereto, adviſed and conſulted with his Lay-nobility, who were then become very jealous of the growing Greatneſs of the Eccleſiaſticks; urging, that their claiming an Exemption from ſecular Puniſhments leſſened the Authority of the King's Courts, and that the Biſhops were notoriouſly partial to the Churchmen.

In the Year 1164 the King called a Parliament at *Clarendon*, where the famous Statutes were made, "That took away the "Exemption the Eccleſiaſticks "claimed from ſecular Juriſ- "diction; and ordered, that "there ſhould be no Appeal to "the Biſhop without the King's "Licence: That no Archbiſhop "or Biſhop ſhould go over Seas, "at the Pope's Command, with- "out the King's Licence: That "the Biſhops ſhould not excom- "municate the King's Tenants "*in Capite* without the King's "Licence: That the Biſhops "ſhould not have the Cog- "nizance of Perjury, or *Fidei "Laſſionis*: That the Clergy "ſhould be convened before "Lay-judges, and that the "King's Courts ſhould have "Cognizance of Churches and "of Tythes."

The Writ *Ne Exeat Regnum* is grounded upon theſe Statutes of *Clarendon*.

This

The King ordered the Matter to be examined before himſelf in Council.

Soon after the Judges, the King's Council Spiritual and Temporal, and certain Members of the Parliament, were ordered, by the King, to meet at *Black-fryars* upon this Matter; and here the Convocation-bill againſt Dr. *Standiſh* was read, and what he was to anſwer to, whether he had publickly or privately maintained the following Propoſitions. "*Firſt*, Whether the leſſer Orders were not "holy? *Secondly*, Whether the Examination of Clerks "was not *Jure divino*? *Thirdly*, Whether the Laity "might lawfully puniſh the inferior Clergy, in caſe "the Prelates proved negligent? *Fourthly*, Whether "the poſitive Eccleſiaſtical Laws are binding to none "but thoſe that receive them? *Fifthly*, Whether the "Study of the *Common Law* ought to be laid aſide,

 "becauſe,

This King, by the Advice of his Parliament, which was held at *Northampton*, the 25th of *January*, 1164, inſtituted Juſtices itinerant,* and divided the Kingdom into ſix Circuits.

This Prince held another Parliament at *Nottingham* at *Eaſter*, 1176, when he divided the Nation into four Parts, and to every Part appointed wiſe Men to do Juſtice in the Land. This King's Juſtices, and thoſe of his Succeſſors continued to make regular *Iters* at ſtated Times, till *Edward* the IIId conſtituted Juſtices of Aſſize and Jail Delivery in their Stead, which have continued ever ſince.

By the 11th Stat. of *Clarendon*, the Biſhops are prohibited to give Judgment of Loſs of Life, or Member, as appears by the Words of the Statute.

This Statute is in Affirmance of the *Common Law*, which prohibits Clergymen to be preſent in Judgment of Blood: But the Biſhop of *Durham*, notwithſtanding the Canon and this Statute, continued to ſit in Court in Purple Robes, and to give Judgment of Death; whence comes that old Saying, *Solum Dunelmenſe judicat Stola & Enſe*; — i. e. *Durham* alone judges in Civil and Criminal Cauſes, he being Palatine. One would have thought that thoſe Acts of Parliament, made ſo many Years before *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, would ſufficiently have convinced the Clergy, that they were not exempt from being called in Queſtion in the temporal Courts, for Offences committed by them againſt the Laws of the Kingdom.

* Who were ſent with Commiſſions into divers Counties, for trying Cauſes, *&c.* before Juſtices of Aſſize were appointed.

" becauſe, being but miniſterial to Divinity, it taught " People to deſpiſe nobler Sciences? *Sixthly*, Whether " the obligatory Part of the *Decretum* might be held " in a Man's Hand?"

Theſe Propoſitions being read, Dr. *Standiſh* begun with his Anſwer to the third Propoſition, and denied he had ever maintained it, and gave much the ſame Anſwer to the 5th, and 6th, as to any deliberate aſſerting them. However, whether he might not have ſaid ſomething to that Senſe in Converſation he could not be poſitive; neither did he believe his Caſe required it. As to the *firſt Query*, he anſwered, *They were holy in one Reſpect, and not in another.* To the 2d, *That the ſummoning of them before Temporal Judges implied no Repugnancy to the poſitive Laws of God:* And to the 4th, *That Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, where the Practice runs with them for* 300 *Years, bind no where, but where they are received.*

To this Anſwer the Managers for the Clergy replied, " That the Temporal Judges could no more " juſtify the calling their Spiritual, than their natural " Father before them; that, as the trying their natural " Father implies expreſs Diſobedience againſt the " Fifth Commandment, ſo the Inference would hold " to their ſpiritual Parent, whoſe Honour is ſecured " by that Precept; and that Cuſtom ought not to be " pleaded in Bar of the Tenth Commandment." To this Dr. *Standiſh* rejoined,

Firſt, By allowing the Parallel, that the Temporal Judge might ſummon both one Father and the other before him, without any Breach of the Fifth Commandment, provided he managed with Diſcretion. *Secondly*, He further urged, a Diſparity in the Caſe; for, ſuppoſing the Judge could not juſtify the convening of his ſpiritual Father, yet it does not follow, but that he might order Clerks to be brought before him; for every Clerk is not his ſpiritual Father.

Veſey

Veſey ſeconded *Standiſh*, and ſaid, "That in the "firſt Ages of Chriſtianity all ſecular Prieſts had the "Liberty of marrying, but that afterwards, when "*Auſtin* the Monk came over, there was an Eccle-"ſiaſtical Conſtitution in reſtraint of this Liberty." That, becauſe this Conſtitution was received with us, and in other Parts of the *Weſt*, we *Engliſh* Prieſts live ſingle; but then we ought to take notice, that this Decree was not read in ſeveral Parts of *Chriſtendom*, particularly in the *Eaſt*, where the Prieſts in the *Greek* Church marry as well as the Laity. Now, if an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution may be over-ruled by Non-reception, and the Prevalence of a Counter-cuſtom; then, *à fortiori*, the Trying of Clerks in a Temporal Court ought not to be conteſted; for here, beſides the Plea of Cuſtom, the Benefit of Government is concerned in the Practice: Now the common Good, as has been urged already, ought to have a favourable Allowance, and be preferred to other Conſiderations.

The Judges, having heard the Caſe argued on both Sides, came to this Reſolution, "That thoſe of the Convocation, who "awarded a Citation againſt Dr. *Standiſh*, had fallen "under a *Premunire*; that the King might hold a Par-"liament with his Temporal Lords and Commons, "without the Lords Spiritual; becauſe the Spiritual "Lords do not ſit in Parliament by the Privilege of "their Spirituality, but of their Temporal Eſtates. *The Judges Opinion.*

"But if here, ſays Dr. *Collier*, the Reporter has "dealt clearly, the Reſolution of the Judges ſeems "ſomewhat extraordinary; for, *Firſt*, they pronoun-"ced the Clergy guilty of a *Premunire*, for citing "*Standiſh* before the Convocation, and trying him "for heretical Principles, of which the Biſhops were "evidently Judges by Law. *Secondly*, They aſſert "the King may hold a Parliament without the Bi-"ſhops, which is no leſs a Contradiction to the

Engliſh

" *Engliſh* Conſtitution, for nothing is more plain, than " that the Prelates have been always reckoned an eſſen- " tial Part of the Legiſlature in all Acts of Parliament; " where the Subjects are mentioned, the Spiritual Lords " are named in the firſt Place; and in Caſe of Blood, " when the Biſhops were reſtrained by the Commons " from being preſent, the Cuſtom was to make a Pro- " teſtation to have their Privilege. Of this we have a " famous Inſtance in the Time of King *Richard* the IId: " In this Reign, *Courtney*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, " made a Proteſtation in the Name of all the Biſhops; " it ſets forth the *Lords Spiritual*, by Virtue of their " Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a Right to " ſit, debate, vote, and give Judgment with the reſt of " the Peers in all Caſes and Matters tranſacted by the " Parliament, *&c.* This Inſtrument, at the Inſtance and " Petition of the Archbiſhop, and of his Suffragans, " was read in a full Houſe, and entred upon the Parlia- " ment-rolls by the King's Command, with the Aſſent " of the Temporal Lords and Commons. Further we " are to obſerve, that there were no Creations by Patent " till the Reign of King *Henry* the IIId: Till this " Time all the temporal Peers were noble, in virtue " of their Fiefs. It was the Manner of holding which " gave them their Quality, and of this we have ſtill an " Inſtance in *Arundel* Caſtle; for whoſoever is the " Owner of this Caſtle has the Dignity of a Peer, " and a Right to ſit in Parliament; from hence it " appears, that the Reaſon the Judges give for their " Opinion is inconcluſive: They ſay, *the Biſhops do not* " *ſit in Parliament by Virtue of their Character, but upon* " *the Account of their temporal Poſſeſſions*; that is true: " But what follows? Why the contrary of the Judges " Concluſion; for, if the Biſhops ſit by Virtue of their " Temporal Poſſeſſion or Baronies, then, by the Judges " Confeſſion, their Tenures give them a Right to ſit; " and by Conſequence they could not be denied that " Right without open Breach upon the Conſtitution.

" But

"But I need not ſay any more (ſays the Doctor) in "ſo plain a Caſe; and therefore, upon the whole, as "the Clergy were miſtaken one Way, the Reverend "Judges were no leſs in an other."

After this Debate the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and a great many of the Houſe of Commons, together with the Juſtices of the King's ſpiritual and temporal Courts were ordered by his Majeſty to attend him at *Baynard*'s Caſtle. Here Cardinal *Wolſey* opened the Aſſembly, and kneeling to the King declared,

Cardinal Wolſey's *Speech to the King.*

"That he believed none of the Clergy had any In-"tention to diſoblige the Royal Prerogative; that, "for his Part, he owed all his Promotion to his "Highneſs's Favours, and therefore never would "aſſent to any thing that ſhould leſſen the Rights "of the Crown: That this Buſineſs of con-"vening Clerks before Temporal Judges was, in "the Opinion of the Clergy, directly contrary to the "Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church: "That both himſelf and the reſt of the Prelates "were bound, by their Oath, to maintain this Ex-"emption; for this Reaſon he intreated the King, "in the Name of the Clergy, that his Majeſty would "be pleaſed to refer the Deciſion of this Point to "the Pope and the Conclave." To this the King replied, "That he thought Dr. *Standiſh*, and others "of his Spiritual Council, had given the Clergy a "ſufficient Anſwer." Upon this the Biſhop of *Winchester* (who came from his Seat on purpoſe to aſſiſt at this Aſſembly) ſaid, "Sir, I warrant you Dr. *Stan-"diſh* will not abide by his Opinion at his Peril." To this the Doctor anſwered, *What ſhould one poor Fryar do againſt all the Biſhops and Clergy of* England? After a little Pauſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (tho' Monſ. *Rapin* would have him retired from the Court in Diſguſt) acquainted the King, in the

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's *Addreſs to the King.*

Name

Name of the Clergy; "That, in ancient Times, "several holy Fathers of the Church had oppoſed "the *Common Law* in this Matter, and ſome of them "had carried the Conteſt ſo far as to ſuffer Martyr-"dom in the Quarrel." On the other hand the Lord Chief Juſtice *Fineaux* replied, "That the Trying Clerks "in temporal Courts had been maintained in the "Reigns of ſeveral pious Princes, and that many "holy Prelates had acquieſced under this Law of the "Country, which, 'tis preſumed, they would never "have done, had it been ſo contrary to the Laws "of God, as is now pretended: Beſides, the Pre-"lates have no Authority to try any Clerks for Fe-"lony." The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* anſwered, "They had ſufficient Authority for that Purpoſe;" but brought neither Precedent nor Argument to ſupport his Aſſertion. *Fineaux*, on the other ſide, rejoined, "That, in caſe a Clerk was apprehended for Felony, "and afterwards delivered to the Ordinary by the "temporal Judge, you (ſays he, ſpeaking to the "Biſhops) have no Authority to try the Fact: To "what purpoſe therefore ſhould he be put into "your Hands. In ſhort, either a Clerk muſt be pro-"ſecuted in the Temporal Courts, otherwiſe there "will be no Way to make him ſuffer the Law for "the higheſt Crimes."

The King's Speech to the Aſſembly.

To this the Prelates making no Anſwer, the King ſpoke to this Effect: "By the Providence and Permiſſion "of God We are King of *England*, in which Realm "our Predeceſſors have never owned any Superior, "and therefore I would have you (meaning the "*Clergy*) take notice, that we are reſolved to main-"tain the Rights of our Crown and temporal Ju-"riſdiction, in as ample Manner as any of our Pro-"genitors, and that with reſpect to the Caſe in queſ-"tion; and, as for your Decrees, we are very well "ſatisfied, that you depart from the literal Conſtruction

"in

" in many Inſtances, as has been ſufficiently proved " to you by our ſpiritual Council, and therefore " you muſt not expect, that we ſhould gratify your " Requeſts any further, than has formerly been done " by our Progenitors."*

* One of his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors was *Edward* the Ift, a brave, great, high-ſpirited Prince, by all Hiſtorians extolled for an excellent Governor and good Legiſlator, who may be juſtly ſtiled the *Engliſh Juſtinian*; and therefore we ſhall here juſt mention ſome of the wholeſome Laws paſſed in his Reign ſtill in Uſe; and refer our Readers for a more full Account thereof to the Laws themſelves, to my Lord *Coke*, and the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Common Law*, who have learnedly commented thereon.

The Laws of *England* went under a triple Denomination, *viz. Weſt Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Daniſh*, which were called the *Common Law*.

3 *Edw.* I. the Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum* was made, which was enlarged by two ſubſequent Statutes, 2 *Rich.* II. 5; 12 *Rich.* II. 11. Theſe Statutes are in Affirmative of the *Common Law* of *England*, *viz.* the *Saxon*, for the Puniſhment of ſuch as raiſed falſe Stories, in order to make a difference between the King and Nobles, was altered; for the old Laws ordered the Tongue of ſuch Revilers to be cut out, but the modern Statutes inflict Fine and Impriſonment, and leave the Meaſure thereof to Judge and Jury.

The *Magna Charta* of King *John*, and that of *Henry* the IIId, received, in the 25th of *Edw.* I. a laſting Confirmation in Parliament.

This King eſtabliſhed and diſtributed the ſeveral Juriſdictions of Courts within their proper Bounds;—checked the Incroachments of the Clergy by the Statute of *Carliſle*, 35th of his Reign; —declared the Limits and Bounds of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction by the Statute of *Circumſpecte agatis & Articulis Cleri*; *i.e.* a Charge to the Clergy to act circumſpectly, and to keep within the Limits of their own Laws;—eſtabliſhed the Limits of the Court of *Common Pleas* by the Statute of *Articuli ſuper Chartas*, Cap. 3. —, and the Extent of the Juriſdiction of the Court of *Steward* and *Marſhal*; —ſettled the Bounds of inferior Courts, *&c.* and that of keeping the Limits of the Courts of Great Men within their proper Bounds, under ſeveral Penalties; —provided againſt the Interruption of the Common Juſtice of the Kingdom; —ſettled the Forms and Solemnities of Fines, confining them to the Common Pleas, and to Juſtices *Itinerant*; —appointed a Place for them to bring their Records to after their Circuits, whereby one common Repoſitory might be kept of Aſſurance of Lands, which he did by

Upon this Cardinal *Wolſey* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* petitioned the King, in the Name of the "Clergy, "That the Matter might reſt till they "could ſend to *Rome* for the Reſolution of that Court; "and, in caſe the Non-exemption of Clerks was con- "ſiſtent with the Law of God, they ſhould be willing "to

by the Statute *de Modo Levandi Fines*, i.e. "Of the Method of "levying of Fines." 18 *Ed.* I. —ſettled, by the Statute of *Winchſter*, the Method for ſuppreſſing Robberies;—a ſpeedier Way for Recovery of Debts, not only for Merchants and Tradeſmen, but for other Perſons, by granting an Execution for a Moiety of the Land by *Elegit*, *Weſt.* 2. Cap. 18.— the Method of Tenures, to prevent the Multiplicity of Penalties, which was grown to a great Inconveniency, by the Statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*, 18 *Edw.* I. on which Subject the Hon. *Martin Wright*, Eſq; one of the preſent Juſtices of the Court of *King's Bench*, has wrote a very learned Treatiſe, intitled, *The Law of Tenures*.

His Majeſty made Proviſion for Recovery of Advowſons and Preſentations to Churches by the Statute of *Weſt.* 2. Cap. 5.— In the ſame Parliament he made great Alterations in Eſtates, whereby the Eſtates of *Fee Simple Conditional*, at *Common Law*, were turned into *Eſtates Tail*, and not removeable from the Iſſue by the former Courſe of Alienation. This Statute afterwards gave riſe to one of another kind, made 7 *Hen.* VII.

King *Edward* changed the Laws of *Wales*, and introduced a new Law of Diſpenſation, particularly relating to *Baſtards*, who before inherited, but now were excluded. In ſhort, this moſt noble Prince not only rectified the former old Way of collecting his Revenue in the *Exchequer*, (which was become burthenſome) but alſo removed out of the *Common Law* whatever he found had been before grievous or impracticable.

In *Edward* the IIId's Reign this Method prevailed in reſpect to the Form of drawing up Acts, when they firſt aroſe from a Petition, of which ſometimes the King rejected part, and ratified part; the Anſwers were entered in the Parliament Rolls, and out of both, by the Advice of the Judges and the King's Council, the Act was drawn. But ſome Difficulties ariſing from this Way of proceeding, about the latter End of the Reign of *Henry* the VIth, the Parliament returned to the Method made uſe of in *Edward* the Iſt's Time, whereby the Petitions and Anſwers were, at the firſt Inſtant, reduced into the compleat Forms of Acts of Parliament; and, abating the Stile then made uſe of, the Way hath continued much the ſame to this Time. See *Gurdon's Hiſtory of the High Court of Parliament*.

" to conform to the Uſages of the Country." But it does not appear that the Pope interpoſed in the Matter; and the King made no Anſwer to the Archbiſhop's Requeſt. As for Dr. *Standiſh*, the Biſhops promiſed the King he ſhould be diſmiſſed from further Trouble in the Convocation, which was done accordingly, and here this famous Controverſy reſted.

Maſter of the Rolls dies: Some Account of his Life.

About the latter end of this Year died Dr. *John Yonge*, Maſter of the Rolls, for whom Cardinal *Wolſey* had a very great Value. To ſay ſomething of this Gentleman, in *March*, 1500, he was Rector of St. *Martin*'s in *Oxford*; in 1502 was admitted Rector of St. *Stephen*'s, *Walbroke*, *London*; on the 10th of *March*, 1504, was collated, by Archbiſhop *Warham*, to the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*; on the 28th of *Nov.* 1511, he was, by Biſhop *Fitz James*, preferred to the Prebend of *Holborn*; which he reſigned, and was afterwards preferred to be Prebend of *Newington*; on the 13th of *July*, 1513, Cardinal *Wolſey* preferred him to the Rectory of *Therfield*, in the Archdeaconry of *Huntingdon*. He was for many Years imployed in ſeveral foreign Negotiations, which he diſcharged with great Honour and Reputation. By his Will he bequeathed, among many Benefactions to his other Friends, to Cardinal *Wolſey* a large Silver Cup. He was ſucceeded, in his Office of *Maſter of the Rolls*, by Dr. *Taylor*.

A further Account of the Univerſity of Oxford.

That famous Seminary of Learning, the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was, about this Time, under no little Diſorders, owing to ſome of the Pope's Bulls being privately ſtolen from them, which put the Univerſity upon praying their Chancellor, to procure an Exemplification of them from the Apoſtolick Chamber; and accordingly the Bulls were ſoon after reſtored to them: And, what was very ſurprizing, Dr. *Ayliffe* tells us, " That, upon the Extirpation of the

" Papal Power, ſome immoderate Zealots againſt " Popery committed them to the Flames."

The next Matter that aroſe was of another Kind; the City-bailiffs were endeavouring to break in upon the Privileges of the Univerſity; on which the Chancellor's Commiſſary ſuſpended them, *ab Ingreſſu Eccleſiæ*, for their Contumacy, in not appearing before him at a Day and Place legally aſſigned; and ſuch indeed were the Inſults of the Citizens, that the Convocation was forced to diſcommon the Mayor, for not ſuperceding the Proceſs of his Court, againſt a priviledged Perſon, on the Chancellor's Mandate.

A Gentleman,* who has wrote the Hiſtory of this Univerſity, takes notice, that this was not the only Inſtance of the Townſmen's Rancour to the Privileges of the Univerſity: For they carried it ſo far as to interrupt the Chancellor in the Correction and Impriſonment of Delinquents, and refuſed to obey the Chancellor's Mandate for impanelling of Juries; they alſo impanelled on a Jury two of the ſuperior Beadles of the Univerſity, and other priviledged Perſons, antiently exempt from Juries; for theſe, and the like Injuries the Bailiffs were impeached. But the Univerſity-Magiſtrates, conſidering with themſelves how hard a Matter it would be to puniſh thoſe Criminals according to their Demerits, and that their Charter at this Time was very difficult, which made them again apply to their great Patron, *the Cardinal*, who immediately took them under his Protection, and obtained from his Majeſty a Charter agreeable to their Wiſhes; this was no ſooner obtained, and ſent down to *Oxford*, but the Bailiffs were, in Vertue thereof, ſummoned to appear before the Chancellor's Commiſſaries, Proctors, and others in St. *Mary*'s Church, which they accordingly did, and, on Examination of the different Matters alledged againſt them, they openly and freely confeſſed the Crimes laid to their Charge,

* Dr. *Aſhſe*.

Charge, and Sentence was pronounced as follows: "That each of them, in St. *Martin*'s Church in *Oxford*, ſhould, in a ſtanding Poſture, hold in his Hand a Wax-taper of a Pound Weight, from the Beginning of the Goſpel to the End thereof; and then offer their Tapers up to St. *Martin*: That they ſhould, in the next general Proceſſion of the Univerſity, walk before the Croſs, from St. *Mary*'s Church to the Place where the Croſs was taken, and, ſaying ſhort Prayers, ſhould each of them repeat the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* for the good Eſtate of the King and Kingdom."

But the Citizens were highly diſpleaſed with this Sentence, inſomuch, that they immediately appealed to the King, in order to have their Bailiffs excuſed from it; and at the ſame time laid before his Majeſty ſeveral Complaints againſt the Scholars; particularly charging them with burning the late Mayor's Houſe, and putting him in Fear and Danger of his Life; alſo with aſſaulting ſeveral Citizens: Whereupon they prayed the King to order the Commiſſary, Proctors, and others of the Univerſity, to appear before him in Council, and anſwer their Complaint. This would have been done, had not Cardinal *Wolſey* interpoſed on Behalf of the Univerſity; ſo that, at laſt, the Bailiffs and other Citizens, ſolliciting this Affair at *London*, miſcarried in their Application, and were obliged to apply to the Chancellor of *Oxford*, for a Revocation of the Sentence pronounced againſt them, which his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant, at the Inſtance of the Cardinal, upon Condition of their returning to *Oxford*, and there acknowledging in publick their Offences, and paying each of them 4 *l.* Coſts towards making the Univerſity Satisfaction, for the Expences they had put her to in this Application, which they complied with, and thus this Matter ended.

But

But it was not long before the Townſmen endeavoured to elude the Force of the Charter, by the Advice of ſome artful Lawyers, who endeavoured to turn the Senſe of ſome Expreſſions therein. This obliged the Univerſity once more to apply to their Patron, *Wolſey*, for the Explanation, Augmentation, and Preſervation of their Rights, who readily lent an Ear to their Complaints, and ſome time after procured them that remarkable Charter, bearing Date the 1ſt of *April*, 14 *Hen.* VIII. under the great Seal of *England*, and ſubſcribed *per ipſum Regem & de data predicta Authoritate Parliamenti.*

About the Time of theſe Diſputes with the City, certain Members and Scholars gave the Univerſity very great Trouble. One of the chief of them was *John Morris*, Doctor of *Common Law*, who was firſt impriſoned, and afterwards expelled the Univerſity, for perſuading others to reſiſt the Chancellor's Authority: From hence no ſmall Difference aroſe, thro' the Complaints which ſome of his Friends made to the King; but, by Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Means, *Morris* was not reſtored till he had acknowledged in Publick his Offence, and promiſed, for the future, Submiſſion to the Laws of the Univerſity; and then, in Vertue of a Royal Mandate, he was received by a ſolemn Congregation, and reſtored to his former State.

Theſe and other Evidences, which we have mentioned, of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Care, not only of the Privileges of the Univerſity, but alſo of getting their Charters ſecured, explained and enlarged, give us ſtrong Proofs of his grateful Acknowledgments for the Education he received in that noble Seat of Learning; and we make not the leaſt doubt, but that the Heads and Members of this famous Univerſity, even at this Day, retain an honourable Reſpect for the Memory of ſo venerable and generous a Patron.

We

We have, in our Account of the Year 1513, related, that Lord *Montjoy** was made Governor of *Tournay*, and we alſo find, that Sir *John Ruſſel* † was made Deputy Go-

Affairs of Tournay. 1516.

* The Title was extinct ſome Years after the Death of this Lord; but Sir *William Stuart*, Bart. was, by King *Charles* the IId, the 9th of *May*, 1684, created Viſcount *Montjoy*. In 1686 he went into *Hungary*, and was twice dangerouſly wounded at the Siege of *Buda*. He afterwards returned into *Ireland*, and was ſent into *France* by the Duke of *Tyrconnel*, and there clapped into the *Baſtile*, where he remained a Priſoner till the Year 1692; upon his Releaſe he waited on King *William* in *Flanders*, and was killed at the Battle of *Steenkirk*.

He married the Lady *Mary Coote*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bellamont*, and was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by *William*, his eldeſt Son. This noble Lord married Lady *Anne Boyle*, Daughter to *Murrough*, Lord Viſcount *Bleſſington*, by whom he had five Sons and four Daughters, whereof four of the Sons and three of the Daughters died in their Infancy; but the 5th, named *Mary*, ſurvived, who is allowed to be a Lady of very great Accompliſhments, and an Honour to the Family of the *Boyles*. She married the Right Honourable *James*, Lord *Tyrawley*, an experienced Officer and an able Miniſter; and her Ladyſhip's Brother, the Right Honourable *William Stuart*, ſucceeded to the Title and Eſtate belonging to this honourable Family.

† Sir *John* was deſcended from an antient Family, and was the eldeſt Son. *John Ruſſel*, Eſq; born at *Kingſton-Ruſſel*, reſided at *Berwick*, about four Miles from *Bridport*, in the County of *Dorſet*, who was a Gentleman of excellent Accompliſhments, verſed in ſeveral Languages, had travelled and been in divers Battles Abroad. 21 *Hen.* VII. *Philip*, King of *Caſtile*, being drove on Shore in the *Weſt*, (*See Vol.* I. *p.* 253.) and entertained by Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Knt. Mr *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas*'s Neighbour and Relation, and then newly returned from his Travels, was invited by Sir *Thomas*, to wait upon the King, who was ſo taken with his Converſation, that he deſired he might enjoy his Company to Court, whither *Henry* the VIIth had invited that Prince: In which Journey King *Philip* being much affected with Mr. *Ruſſel*'s Diſcourſe and generous Deportment, his Majeſty recommended him to our King, as a Gentleman fitly qualified to ſerve him in ſome conſiderable Station; he was thereupon taken into Favour, and made one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber.

Sir *John* was Knighted by *Henry* the VIIIth, and attended him to *France* as one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber; was at the taking of *Turwine* and *Tournay*, and, for his Services there, the King was pleaſed to preſent

Governor. But it was not long before they and the Garriſon were made uneaſy from *England*, occaſioned by the King's ſending his Letters, dated the 14th of *April*, 1514, directed to the Deputy, Council, and the whole Garriſon, "Willing and commanding "them to receive their Payments Half-yearly "inſtead of Quarterly, in the ſame Manner as all o-"ther his Garriſons in thoſe Parts were paid; and his "Majeſty at the ſame time required the Gentlemen, "Conſtables and Vintners, to certify their Conſent "to obey this Order." To this the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *John*, with the Council, thus addreſſed themſelves. "To my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and alſo "to all the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt honourable "Privy Council, ſhewing, That the Inhabitants and "Houſholders of the King's other Garriſons at *Ca-*"*lais* were of one Nation, of long Continuance, "and many of good Subſtance, and glad to aſſiſt, "help, and truſt each other, as good and true Sub-"jects ought to do: Whereas thoſe at *Tournay* were "moſtly Strangers to the Garriſon, and, as far as "they could perceive, were very unwilling to truſt "any of the Garriſon, who were few or none that "were of Subſtance, ſo as to victual or help his "Fellow for the Time required: Wherefore they "humbly begged his Grace tenderly, of his Charity, "to have them in his gracious Remembrance, ſo "that, by his bountiful Favour and Inſtance to the "King's Highneſs, they might obtain the Grant of "Pay-

preſent him certain Lands in *Tournay*; and he afterwards made a conſiderable Figure at Court. At laſt he was created Earl of *Bedford*, and had other Honours conferred on him. In ſhort, the Deſcendants from this Gentleman have not been more illuſtrious for the Greatneſs of their Nobility, (thro' the Favour of ſeveral of *Henry* the VIIIth's Royal Succeſſors) than for their Love and Affection to their Country, which they have ſhewn upon ſome memorable Occaſions: And at this Day his Grace, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, enjoys the Honours and Eſtates of this noble Family, being lineally deſcended from this Earl.

" Payment quarterly, with the good Courſe of Mo-
" ney, and ſo ſhould they be bound, with all the
" whole Retinue and Garriſon, to pray for the Main-
" tenance and Proſperity of his good and gracious
" Eſtate."

The Conſtables of *Tournay*, who were the Yeomen of the King's Guard there, alſo wrote to the Cardinal their piercing Complaint, ſetting forth what Miſeries they muſt groan under, if the King's Order ſhould take Place. The Superſcription of the Letter was, " To the Lord Cardinal's Grace, and to all the " Lords of the King's moſt Honourable Council." Theſe Addreſſes to the Cardinal and the Council had the deſired Effect, and care was taken to content the Complainants.

There happened this Year a Mutiny in the Garriſon, and a treaſonable Conſpiracy amongſt the *Tournois*, who were uneaſy under their new King, but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed; and, the better to quiet the People's Minds, the King ordered the Lord *Montjoy* (who was upon this Occaſion ſent over from *England*) to declare a general Pardon to them that had been active in thoſe Inſurrections and Treaſons, and withal to diſcharge ſome of the Garriſon that might be ſpared: But ſome Doubts ariſing thereon, the Governor addreſſed himſelf to the Cardinal as follows: " That " whereas, in the King's Letters, it pleaſed his High-
" neſs to write, that his Pleaſure was concerning the
" Pardons, (as well for the *Engliſhmen* there, for
" their Riots and unfaithful Aſſemblies, as for the
" Townſmen, for their Treaſons and Conſpiracies)
" that he, the Lord Governor, ſhould grant them
" Pardons, according to the Tenour of ſuch Copies as
" he had lately brought over, he adviſed, that, if theſe
" Pardons ſhould be of any Value to the Parties, it
" would be neceſſary, that he ſhould have a Com-
" miſſion ſent unto him from the King's Grace; for
" then, when time convenient ſhould offer, they might be

" granted." He alſo found it neceſſary to adver-
tiſe the Cardinal, " That, of the *Engliſh* and *Welſh*
" Men, there were many Thieves and Murtherers,
" Hunters, and ſuch others as he feared would go o-
" ver to the Enemy, if they had not their Pardons;
" and if the Garriſon was leſſened it would greatly
" hurt the King's Intereſt in the City."

This Remonſtrance had the Effect his Lordſhip propoſed from it.

The next Matter of Moment that happened in this Place was communicated, by a Letter from the Cardinal, to the Governor and Council of *Tournay*, dated *Aug.* 21, 1516, and runs thus: " That the
" King's Highneſs was advertiſed as well from Maſter
" Deputy at *Calais*, and Sir *Thomas Spinel*, as by two
" ſundry Spies out of *France*, that the *French* were
" forming a Scheme to ſurprize *Tournay*; and there-
" fore the Cardinal willed the Governor to take par-
" ticular Caution to prevent the Place being ſur-
" prized"

This Letter was anſwered by the Governor and Council with the higheſt Reſpect, and proper Steps were taken accordingly.

Soon after freſh Uneaſineſſes aroſe among the *Engliſh*, upon Account of the Arrear that was then due on their Pay. Upon this the Lord *Montjoy* wrote a Letter to the Cardinal of *York*, dated *Nov.* the 8th, wherein his Lordſhip ſignified what Payments would be ſoon due; and care was ſoon taken to remit Money to diſcharge theſe Demands. However, upon the whole, the King had little Comfort in keeping this City, being always in Fear of a Surprize; for the Cardinal had again another Intelligence brought him, by an *Auguſtin Fryar*, whom he had employed as a Spy, of an Attempt intended to be made upon the Place: Of this the Cardinal and the Council wrote to the Governor, which was carried with ſuch Speed, that in two Days he received it at *Tournay*; and it was

but

but a few Days before the Deputy of *Calais* wrote on the ſame Subject to *Tournay*, and warned them to have a good Guard upon the King's City.

After theſe Diſpatches were conſidered, the Governor wrote to the Cardinal, "That all needful Care "was taken for the Defence of the Place; and aſſured "his Grace, that all the Garriſon there, and other "*Engliſhmen* were of as good Courage as any Men "could be, being deſirous and wiſhing the *French-*"*men* would come, to the End his Grace might know "what Service they intended to do his Highneſs; "and, laſtly, they told the Cardinal, that the City "was well victualled and fortified, and in a Condi-"tion to make a ſtout Defence, in caſe of an Attack."

The Cardinal, upon the Receipt of this Letter, directed the Governor, to perſuade the chief Officers of the Town to come over into *England*, to wait on the King himſelf, and the Privy Council, to ſatisfy them of their faithful and true Obedience. The Lord Governor, purſuant to the Cardinal's Inſtruction, required the chief Magiſtrates of the Town to paſs over into *England*, which they did accordingly, and, after performing what was required of them, they returned to *Tournay*.

Where they had not been long arrived, before a ſecret and dangerous Conſpiracy againſt the Kingdom was diſcovered, which was forming,* and in which were engaged *France*, *Denmark*, and *Scotland*, with ſome *Engliſh*. The Deſign was no leſs than to invade *England* on the Side of *Scotland*, and at the ſame time to land Troops in other Parts of the Kingdom, which was to be done at once, and were to be headed by the Duke of *Albany*, and *Richard de la Pole*. This

* Do not theſe Plots and Conſpiracies (notwithſtanding all the bluſtering of Monſ. *Rapin*) juſtify the Meaſures, that *England* was then taking, to ſtop the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, in order to render her leſs able to diſturb her Neighbours?

Conſpiracy coming to the Knowledge of the Governor of *Tournay*, by Means of one *Croſſone*, the Governor diſpatched a particular Account of it to the Cardinal, whereupon ſuch effectual Courſes were taken, both at Home and Abroad, that the Confederacy was ſoon broken: But theſe Proceedings more and more induced the King to watch the Motions of *France*, and to divert the *French* from putting any of their Projects againſt *England* in Execution: And as it always has been, ſo, we have Reaſon to believe, it ever will be a principal Buſineſs of our Nation to keep a watchful Eye on thoſe reſtleſs, deſigning, enterprizing Neighbours.

The King in the firſt Place ſent 1200 Workmen over to *Tournay*, who were employed in building a Caſtle, which in about a Year was finiſhed, and added greatly to the Strength of the Place, beſides keeping the *Tournois* in Awe.*

In

* The City of *Tournay* was afterwards by Treaty delivered to the *French*, as in the Courſe of this Work will appear; but, being again taken out of their Hands, they, in the Year 1667, retook the Place, and ſo fortified it, that it was aſſerted to be one of the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks in *Europe*. But this did not deter our General, the moſt illuſtrious, victorious, and ever to be had in venerable Memory, *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, (who had before highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many glorious Actions, the Recital and Sculptures of which have filled Volumes) from attacking this Place; for, on the 31ſt of *June*, 1709, his Army aſſembled about *Courtray* and *Menin*; the next Day his Grace put himſelf at the Head of his Forces, and acted ſo Politick a part, that he deceived the *French* General, who thought he had taken ſuch ſhrewd Steps as totally to defeat the Duke's Intentions. Whilſt the *French* were replete with vain Conceits, the Duke, on the 27th of *June*, marched his Army by Night without Beat of Drum or Sound of Trumpet, and, to the great Surprize of the *French*, appeared before *Tournay*, and inveſted the Place, which was ill provided to ſuſtain a Siege. Upon this certain Verſes were made on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and among others were the following Lines:

Thus his Immenſity of Thought
Is deeply form'd, and gently wrought,

Wit

In the next Place his Majesty, the better to find the *French* Work in other Parts, sent Instructions to his Ambassador, at the Emperor's Court, to inform that Prince that *Henry* was ready to assist him against *France* tho' he continued in the same Mind as he was in last Year, not to engage therein as a Principal. *Foreign Affairs.* 1516.

Pace

His Temper always soft'ning Life's Disease;
That Fortune, when she does intend
To rudely frown, she turns his Friend,
Admires his Judgment, and applauds his Ease.
His great Address, in this Design,
Does now, and will for ever shine,
And wants a WALLER *but to do him right:*
The whole Amusement was so strong,
Like Fate, he doom'd them to be wrong,
And TOURNAY's *took by a peculiar Slight.*

The Enemy not having Time to reinforce the Garrison of *Tournay*, it consisted, according to some Accounts, only of twelve weak Battalions, and four Squadrons of Dragoons. This Garrison was very small for so large a Place, which is reckoned as strong as any in *Flanders*, and has a fine Citadel of five regular Bastions. The Town contains seventeen Parish Churches, besides a stately Cathedral; and both Town and Citadel were so prodigiously fortified, after *Lewis* the XIVth took it, that it was reckoned almost impregnable.

The 7th of *July* the Trenches were opened before *Tournay*, but, for the Particulars of the Siege, we shall refer our Readers to Mr. *Lediard*'s *Life of the Duke of* Marlborough, and only observe, that the Town capitulated in 21 Days after opening the Trenches, which the *French* thought were not to be forced, as appears from the following lofty Inscription, which they had caused to be inscribed on one of the Half-moons.

LUDOVICUS DECIMUS QUARTUS
INCERTUM BELLO AN PACE MAJOR.
QUIBUS COPIIS, CONCILIIS, ANIMO, CELERITATE FORTUNA,
ANNO M.DC.LXVII. NERVIORUM URBEM
QUATRIDUO CEPERAT,
IISDEM, NEUNQUAM POSTQUAM CAPERETUR,
INTER CETERA MUNIMENTA, HOC
QUOQUE
DIEBUS VIX OCTO
AB AREA ET FUNDAMENTIS
IPSE INSTANS OPERI,
VICTRICIBUS MILITUM MANIBUS EXTRUXIT, ANNO DOMINI. M.DC.LXXI.

Lewis

Pace (who was then the King's Minister at that Court) attended the Emperor, and communicated to him what his Master proposed, which was received by *Maximilian* with

Lewis the XIV*th, who, whether he be greater in Peace or War is uncertain, with the same Power, Conduct, Courage, Activity, and Fortune, with which he took the Town of* Tournay, *in four Days, in the Year* 1667, *has, that it may* never be taken *for the future, amongst other Works, erected this in eight Days from the Ground, and its Foundations, by the victorious Hands of his brave Soldiers, animated by his Presence, in the Year of our Lord* 1671.

The Citadel was taken on the 2d of *September*, and the Garrison was made Prisoners of War, which strong and important Place is now in the Hands of the *Dutch*.

"The Manner of Fighting in "this Siege (says the Author of "the *Tatler*) discovered a Gallantry in our Men, unknown "to former Ages; their meeting with adverse Parties under "Ground, where every Step was "taken with Apprehensions of "being blown up with Mines "below them, or crushed by the "Fall of the Earth above; and "all this acted in Darkness, has "something in it more terrible, than ever is met with in "any other Part of a Soldier's "Duty: However, this was performed with great Chearfulness."

The *French* during the Course of the War, which our Annals are filled with, met with so many Defeats, that *Lewis* the XIVth's Project, for *Universal Monarchy*, was quite overturned, and his Ministers were glad, before the Opening the Campaign, 1509, to sign certain Preliminaries for restoring the Peace of *Europe*, which *Lewis* afterwards rejected, much in the Manner as his Predecessor, *Lewis* the XIIth, had the Treaty of *Dijon*, which his General made with the *Swiss*, at a Time *France* was in Danger of being lost. (See *P.* 165.) A celebrated Paper at that Time being published, under the Name of the *Tatler*, an extraordinary Letter was inserted therein, and was thus addressed, "*From* "*Isaac Bickerstaff, of Great-*"*Britain*, Esq; to *Lewis* the "XIVth of *France*, on his refu-"sing to sign the Preliminaries; "and concludes as follows:

"As your Majesty is a strict "Professor of Religion, I be-"seech you to stop the Effusion "of Blood, by receiving the "Opportunity which presents it-"self for the Preservation of "your distressed People. Be no "longer so infatuated, as to hope "for Renown from Murder and "Violence. But consider, that "the great Day will come, in "which this World and all its "Glory shall change in a Mo-"ment: When Nature shall "sicken, and the Earth and Sea "give up the Bodies committed "to them to appear before the "last Tribunal. Will it then, O "King! be an Answer for the

"Lives

with great Joy; and ſoon after *Pace* wrote to the Cardinal, to give him an Account of what the Emperor had projected, *viz.* the Attacking *Milan*, and, after its Reduction, to make it ſubject to the Crown of *England:* But *Pace*, in his Letter, expreſſed his Diſlike of it, both upon Account of the Charge of keeping it, and for that the People would not be eaſy under any other Government, than that of one of the Houſe of *Sforza*; and ſaid, "That, from his own Ex-"perience, little Regard was to be had to the Em-"peror's Word."

Theſe Propoſals induced his Majeſty to ſend Sir *Richard Wingfield* to the Imperial Court, where he had not been long, before he acquainted his Maſter of ſeveral important Affairs, which the Emperor, at a private Conference, had offered to him; and theſe are ſome of *Maximilian*'s further chimerical Propoſals, which for the Singularity of them, we ſhall here introduce.

The Emperor's Propoſals to the Engliſh *Ambaſſador.*

"*Firſt*, I deſire you to make my moſt "hearty and affectionate Recommen-"dations to my dear and affectionate "Brother, the King, your Maſter, which "by Word doth call me Father, and I do call him "Son, which I do take right gladly upon me. And "as touching the holy Enterprize, which hath been "made upon the common Enemy, though as yet "it hath not attained the deſired End, I truſt, that, "by my ſaid Brother's further Aſſiſtance and Com-"fort, it ſhall come right well to both our Ends, "and

"Lives of Millions, who have "fallen by the Sword? *They periſhed for my Glory.* That Day "will come on, and one like it "is immediately approaching: "Injured Nations advance to-"wards thy Habitation. Ven-"geance has begun its March, "which is to be diverted only "by the Penitence of the Op-"preſſor. Awake, O Monarch! "from thy Lethargy! Diſdain "the Abuſes thou haſt received! "Pull down the Statue which "calls thee immortal! Be truly "great! Tear thy Purple, and "put on Sackcloth!" Singular Language to ſo proud a Prince.

" and the Weal not only of us, but alſo of all " *Chriſtendom*: And, in the mean time, I do confeſs, " that his Aſſiſtance, which is paſt and preſent, hath " not only ſaved Cities of mine, but alſo the Realms " of my Nephew, out of the Enemy's hand.

" And, in Conſideration of the ſaid Cities and " Realms being ſaved by my ſaid Brother's Aſſiſtance, " and that alſo I know well, that, in Time paſt, " he hath had a ſpecial Deſire, that a Peace might be " taken between me and the *Venetians*; I now, for " my part, do offer unto him, that, what Peace ſo- " ever he ſhall think honourable for me, and meet " for them, I will make it. And, becauſe neither the " *Swiſs*, nor the Pope, nor the *Venetians*, will con- " ſent that I, or the *French* King, ſhould enjoy the " Dutchy of *Milan*, I will, if my Brother conſent " thereto, that forthwith, upon Knowledge of his " Mind, I will advertiſe the ſaid Pope, *Swiſs* and " *Venetians*, that, for the Weal and Pacifying of all " *Chriſtendom*, I am determined to give the ſaid " Dutchy of *Milan* unto him, with which I am ſure " they would be all well content: And this is the " firſt of the three ſpecial Things, upon which I de- " fired, as I ſaid, a ſpeedy Anſwer. Howbeit I will, " that my Brother do know with the ſame, that my " Meaning alway is, that he do accept the Adoption, " which I have made of him, and the receiving of " the Empire which I have promiſed and will reſign " unto him. The *Second* is, That I deſire my Brother, " that he will procure and help, that the King, my " Nephew, may be reduced to join firmly with us " againſt the common Enemy. As to the *Third*, I " do deſire in moſt affectionate-wiſe, that my ſaid " Brother break in War with *France*, in as good " haſte as he may; for, by that one Act, the Enter- " prize of the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhall be conveyed " ſurely to the deſired Purpoſe. And alſo I do de- " ſire, he gladly follow and execute my Counſel in the

" Num-

" Number and Perfection of his Army; that is to
" ſay, that, when the War is once proclaimed, and a
" ſufficient Army ſet upon the Sea, that the King,
" my Brother, do paſs the Sea in Perſon, and be
" provided of 2000 Horſe, and 4000 Archers, and
" do paſs with the ſaid Company to *Ypres* in *Flan-*
" *ders*, to *Tournay*, to *Mons* in *Hainault*, to *Manche*,
" to *Baſcoigne* in the Land of *Luxenburgh*, and ſo to
" the City of *Treves*, where I will not fail to meet
" with him; and alſo all the Electors and Princes of
" the Empire; where ſhall not only be accompliſhed
" my Reſignation of the Empire, and the Inveſtiture
" of the Dutchy of *Milan* granted, but alſo there
" ſhall be an Army already prepared with Artillery,
" and all other Neceſſaries to enter into *France*; with
" which Army I would my Brother ſhould leave the
" Duke of *Suffolk*, or ſome other Prince, to be the
" Captain, having 1000 Horſe, and 3000 Archers;
" with which Army I will go myſelf as a Superin-
" tendant, and my Brother in the mean while to paſs
" with 1000 Horſe and 1000 Archers through my
" own Country, till he ſhall come to a City in the
" Mountains called *Coyr*, of which is a Biſhop that
" is both my Subject and Familiar, through whoſe
" Biſhoprick my Brother ſhall paſs, till he come to
" the Lake of *Combe*, where I ſhall cauſe Boats to be
" purveyed in a ſufficient Number, for his Paſſage,
" and *Combe* is but 25 Miles from *Milan*; where,
" when he hath tarried a Seaſon, I will in his
" Company paſs to *Rome*, where he ſhall be crowned
" Emperor: Which done, I doubt not but he ſhall
" and may chuſe, whether he will take the moſt ho-
" nourable Peace with *France*, that ever had any of
" his Anceſtors, or proceed in War, till he hath reco-
" vered the Crown as his proper Inheritance; which
" to attain, I eſteem he ſhall have the Conſent of
" the Pope, and all Chriſtian Princes, and the Aid of
" all *Italy*, which muſt find Health by that Means,

" or elſe not only *Italy*, but rather all *Chriſtendom*, " ſhall remain in War and Deſolation."

Theſe Propoſals might have awakened the Seeds of Ambition in a Temper leſs flexible than that of our Monarch, if Cardinal *Wolſey*, and the other Miniſters, had not heard it with that Diſtruſt, they had for ſome time entertained of all the Emperor's Actions. Even ſuppoſing there had been a Probality of making our King Emperor of *Germany*, what would have been the Conſequence, but reducing this gallant Country to a Province of the Empire? There was not wanting at that time Perſons who found Fault with the Adminiſtration interpoſing at all in the Affairs of *Italy*, and particularly in that of driving the *French* out of *Milan*: Upon which Occaſion, *Pace*, in a Letter to *Wolſey*, uſes this faithful Liberty, and plainly tells him, " That ſuch Perſons knew not what they ſaid, " when they found Fault with our King's aſſiſting in " the Recovery of *Milan* from the *French*, and placing " *Francis Sforza* in the Dutchy, who would, when " ſettled, be able to ſupply the King with 1000 Men " at Arms, and to repay him the Expences the King " might be put to on that Account: And, as a Proof of " his ſincere Intention therein, this Prince (*Pace* de- " clared) was ready to ſend his Brother as a Hoſtage to " his Majeſty, for Security of Payment." This was afterwards confirmed by a particular Letter from *Sforza* to the King.

However, it is plain upon the whole, that the King and his Miniſter *Wolſey* were far from placing any great Confidence in what had been propoſed, either in one Inſtance or the other; yet he ordered *Pace*, his Ambaſſador with the Emperor, to ſupply him with a Sum of Money, in order to encourage him to proceed in the Project of attacking the *French* in *Italy*, which, for the preſent, would find them work enough in that Part of the World. In ſhort,

The Emperor raiſes his Army and marches into Italy.

as

as ſoon as *Maximilian* had received a Supply of Money from *England*, and other Parts, he loſt no time, but ſet about collecting his Forces together, being unwilling to loſe the Opportunity that offered of making War upon *France*, notwithſtanding he was obliged to act alone. The Army he aſſembled upon this Occaſion was no leſs than 20,000 Men, at the Head of which he inſtantly marched, unexpectedly entered the State of *Venice*, appeared before *Breſſia*, and retook it. Upon which the *French* Army quitted the Place, and retired to *Milan*. *Maximilian* followed them with ſo much Speed, that he put the *French* into ſuch a Conſternation, that they were ready to take to their Heels, in order to make the beſt of their way home, much after the Manner of their Countrymen in *Lewis* the XIIth's Time: But, luckily for them, juſt as they were moving, 10,000 *Swiſs*, in Alliance with *France*, came unexpected to their Aid; and, what was extremely particular, as theſe Toorps refuſed to fight againſt the *Swiſs* in the Emperor's Army, ſo, on the other hand, the *Swiſs* in the Emperor's Service became very importunate for their Pay, nay, they refuſed to fight, unleſs they were inſtantly paid. *Maximilian* had by this time, as he alledged, parted with all his Money, but promiſed he would ſpeedily pay them; yet that did not do, they became more clamorous than before; ſo that *Maximilian*, in order to avoid being further teaſed, when the Army leaſt expected it, he retired according to his uſual way, and left them to ſhift for themſelves.

But his Projects are ſoon defeated.

Maximilian was no ſooner gone, but they diſbanded, by which Means his fine Projects upon *Milan* came to nothing, at a Time when he had the greateſt Probability of Succeſs.

This Departure, or rather Running-away, of the Emperor, and the Diſbanding his Forces, ſo animated the *French*, that ſoon after they marched to join and

aſſiſt the *Venetians* in the Siege of *Breſſia*, which in a few Days ſurrendered upon Articles. Encouraged with this Succeſs, they next laid Siege to *Verona*; but here they found a ſenſible Change of Fortune, being repulſed with much Slaughter and Loſs, which cauſed them to retire to their reſpective Governments.

Maximilian, hearing of this ill Succeſs of his Enemies, recovered his loſt Spirits, and talked big of renewing the War; and firſt he begun with ſounding the Pope, but found that his private Views would not ſuffer him to break openly with *Francis*. He alſo tried *Charles*, but found his Council would by no means liſten to his Propoſal of joining againſt *France*, alledging, for a Reaſon, that *Charles* had much greater Affairs to ſettle in reſpect to the Government of the different States lately fallen to him. His laſt Hopes were to engage *Henry* to become a Principal in the War, and therefore ſent his chief Miniſter to implore his Aid, and at the ſame time to excuſe his Maſter's late ſcandalous Retreat, by laying the Blame on the *Swiſs*; who, meeting with a favourable Audience, ſoon diſpatched what he was charged with, and returned to his Maſter.

But *Pace*, in his Letter to the King, which was entirely agreeable to our Miniſter's Sentiments at Home, plainly tells his Majeſty, "That the Empe-
"ror's Negligence loſt the Victory, and that the Sol-
"diers ran away without Cauſe: That the Emperor
"promiſes to ſet forward again into *Italy*, but that
"he could not believe his Words any farther than
"Deeds ſhould confirm them."

This Letter, and what Sir *Robert Wingfield* wrote to the King, prevented his Majeſty's thinking to aſſiſt the Emperor in his *Italian* Expedition. — Notwithſtanding the Emperor's preſent Negotiations for carrying on a War, that he might not recede from what he had from the Beginning acted, he was then privately treating with *France* about a Peace; though it

was

was not carried on ſo ſecretly, but the Cardinal had Notice of it; of which he acquaints *Tunſtal*, then in the *Low Countries*, that, when this Intelligence was brought to the King, it was not ſuppoſed to be true, though he well knew it was no new thing for the Emperor to act a double Part; and therefore adviſes *Tunſtal* to enquire, whether there was any Truth in the Report.

Tunſtal was ſo aſſiduous in anſwering this Charge, that he immediately gave the Cardinal an Anſwer, and ſatisfied him, that there was Truth in the Report; and withal expreſſed his Diſlike of a League propoſed between the King and young King *Charles*, for this Reaſon, *he would not have his Majeſty involve himſelf in foreign Affairs, to maintain the Intereſts of other Princes*;* which he enforces by repreſenting the ill State of thoſe with whom the King was to contract, and ſaith, "The Emperor is poor, and not "able to defend himſelf, and therefore his Aſſiſtance "could not be of any Significancy: That the *Ca-* "*tholick* King was out of his Realm, and as poor as "his Grandfather; and that, if any Invaſion ſhould "happen, all the Burthen muſt lie upon the King of "*England*." Theſe Remonſtrances had a good Effect, and ſtayed the *Engliſh* Court from engaging too deeply either with *Spain* or the Emperor.

Francis in the mean time was well pleaſed with what had happened in *Italy*, as the Emperor was retreated from thence, though he had met with ſome Diſappointment in the Siege of *Verona*; and, as *Ferdinand* was dead, he begun now to form the Project of conquering *Naples*; but, juſt as he was going to put his Deſign in Execution, he was diſappointed: For, apprehending he had firmly attached the Pope to his Intereſt, by the laſt Interview, he found himſelf groſly miſtaken, the Pope's preſent View being to

* We wiſh this weighty Reaſon may more and more prevail.

to make uſe of *Francis* to deprive the Duke of *Urbino* of his Dominions, and to ſettle it upon one of his own Family, which he ſoon accompliſhed.

After this was obtained the Pope forgot to thank *Francis* for the Service he had done him. On the contrary, his Thoughts were taken up how he could aſſiſt others in driving the *French* out of *Italy*; and, to pave the Way for ſucceeding in this Deſign, he ſettled a ſecret Correſpondence with the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the new King of *Spain*, which, however, did not then take place, though the Pope carried on his Scheme againſt *Francis* with the utmoſt Precaution and Secrecy; yet *Francis* got the Knowledge of it, though he pretended to be ignorant: But, as he was fully ſatisfied of the Pope's Inſincerity, and that he was not to be depended upon, it made him intirely give over the Thoughts of the Conqueſt of *Naples*.

As to *Charles*, his Affairs obliged him to go over to *Spain*, and *Francis*, being thus diſappointed of the Pope's Aſſiſtance, at laſt came to a Reſolution to enter into a Treaty with the King of *Spain*, who, in the preſent Situation of his Affairs, could not but wiſh to live in good Underſtanding with him. Thus the two Kings being equally inclined to a Peace, without further Ceremony they concluded a Treaty, which was ſigned the 26th of *Auguſt*; The Contents of which was, "That *Charles* ſhould "eſpouſe *Louiſa*, *Francis*'s Daughter, then "about a Year old.—That he ſhould have with her "the King of *France*'s Pretenſions to the Kingdom "of *Naples*; and, till the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, he ſhould give for the young Princeſs's "Maintenance, a hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. "—That, within ſix Months, *Charles* ſhould reſign "the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, Son of "*John d'Albert* and *Catherine* his Conſort, King and "Queen of *Navarre*, who were diſpoſſeſſed by *Ferdi-*

Treaty of Noyon.

"*nand*;

" *mand*; and, in Caſe *Charles* ſhould not perform this " Article, *Francis* ſhould be allowed to aſſiſt the King " of *Navarre*. *Laſtly*, that the Emperor ſhould re- " ſtore *Verona* to the *Venetians*, who, in return, ſhould " pay him two hundred thouſand Crowns, and " *Francis* ſhould give him a full Diſcharge for the " Sum of three hundred thouſand Crowns, lent him " by King *Lewis* the XIIth, to maintain the War " againſt *Venice*."

On the concluding this Treaty *Rapin* makes the following Remarks: " The Peace " of *Noyon* was directly contrary to the De- " ſigns of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of " *England*. The Pope was extremely deſirous the " *French* ſhould be expelled out of *Italy*. *Maxi-* " *milian* was wholly intent upon raiſing Enemies to " *Francis*, to hinder his aſſiſting the *Venetians*. He " ſaw he muſt reſolve either to ratify the Treaty of " *Noyon*, and conſequently reſtore *Verona*, or defend " his Conqueſt without the Aſſiſtance of any Ally. " To avoid both theſe Extremes he tried all poſſible " Ways to embroil Affairs, and kindle a new War, " which might occaſion a League againſt *France*. " He hoped thereby to be able to reject, without " Danger, the Treaty of *Noyon*, which he believed " very prejudicial to his Intereſts. It is true, the " Reſtitution of *Verona* would be worth to him five " hundred thouſand Crowns: But out of that Sum " were deducted the three hundred thouſand he owed " the King of *France* but never intended to pay him: " So, for the Sum of two hundred thouſand Crowns, " he was bound to reſtore *Verona*; that is to ſay, he " was to be ſhut out of *Italy*, the only thing that made " him conſiderable in the preſent Situation of the Af- " fairs in *Europe*. *Henry* the VIIIth was no leſs de- " ſirous of a War with *France*, being prompted thereto " by Cardinal *Wolſey*, or by his Jealouſy of *Francis*. " But it was not the ſame with the Arch-duke, to whom

Rapin's *Remarks.*

" a

" a Peace for ſome time was very advantageous." On which we ſhall only obſerve, that Monſ. *Rapin* ſeems to be at a Loſs to fix, whether *Henry*'s own Deſire of War with *France*, or his own Jealouſy of *Francis*, or his having been prompted thereto by Cardinal *Wolſey* moſt prevailed.

But, to return, *Henry* could not but be alarmed at the concluding this Treaty at *Noyon*, without his being included in it, which might expoſe him to be attacked by the Parties united by that Treaty. This, no doubt, made *Henry* ſeriouſly endeavour to renew the Negotiation, that had been ſome time but ſlowly carried on at *London*, between the Emperor, himſelf, and young King *Charles* of *Spain*, for concluding a Treaty of Alliance, for the Defence of each other's Dominions; yet, as the Treaty at *Noyon* was concluded, both the former and the latter did not ſeem over fond of coming into ſuch Treaty: However, at laſt it was concluded at *London*, on the 29th of *October*, whereby theſe three Princes undertook to aſſiſt each other, in caſe either of their Dominions ſhould be attacked by any Power whatſoever; and *Rapin* confeſſes, " That, when the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador preſſed " King *Charles*, to ratify the League of *London*, he " deferred it on divers Pretences, becauſe he was " afraid of offending the King of *France*; but ratified it after ſome Alterations."

As to the Emperor, he ſoon ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*, and concluded a Truce with the *Venetians*, whereby he undertook to reſtore to them *Verona*, for the ſake of the two hundred thouſand Crowns. And thus the Reader may perceive, that all the Emperor's fine Propoſals to our King, relating to the procuring him *Milan*, and getting him elected Emperor, vaniſhed in a Trice.

Whilſt the different Princes in *Europe*, concerned with *England*, were buſying themſelves about their Temporal Affairs, the Council of *Lateran* continued their Seſſion, without anſwering the End they ſeemed to

to be called for; ſince that Council meddled neither with the *Reformation of the Church*, nor with the *Extirpation of Hereſy*: Yet, that they might ſeem to do ſomething, they fell upon *reforming** *the Kalendar*, which was become very faulty; and for that Purpoſe the Pope cauſed Memorandums to be drawn up, and wrote to all the Chriſtian Princes, inviting them to ſend their *Aſtronomers* to *Rome*, or at leaſt to order them to examine what had been propoſed on the ſaid Subject: And we find, in the Collection of the *publick Acts*, the Brief addreſſed to *Henry* the VIIIth, wherein the Pope ſays, "He had adjourned the next Seſſions "to *December*, in order to give the *Mathematicians* "Time to ſend in their Opinions."

Affairs of Italy. 1517.

THE EMPEROR, before the laſt Year was expired, accepted and ratified the Treaty of *Noyon*, becauſe it was to bring him a round Sum of Money; and for the ſame Reaſon he concluded a Truce with the *Venetians*; and with joint Conſent they ſubmitted to leave all their Matters in Difference to Arbitration. On the 15th of *January* he made a new Agreement with them, whereby it was ſettled, that the Truce ſhould be enlarged for five Years. This being done, the Emperor actually received the Money provided by the Treaty of *Noyon*; and reſtored the City of *Verona* to them upon this further Condition, that they ſhould, during the Truce, pay him yearly 20,000 Crowns.

There is another Reaſon aſſigned for *Maximilian's* agreeing with the *Venetians*, which was, as Lord *Herbert* aſſerts, "The Emperor could not truſt Car-"dinal *Wolſey*, in reſpect to obtaining Money from "his Maſter;" which we think is highly to the Cardinal's Honour, conſidering what ſort of a Part *Maximilian* had hitherto acted. A third Reaſon his Lord-

* How much ſoever the *Church* might want Reforming, or *Heretics* extirpating, it is certain the Regulation of the *Kalendar* has been of infinite Service to *Europe* in general.

ſhip aſſigns is this, "He was quite tired with War." Indeed, for very good Cauſe, the Princes of *Europe* were quite tired with ſupporting him with Money; and therefore, if he had carried the War on further, in all Probability it muſt have been ſolely at his own Expence, which his Revenues would by no means enable him to do. The Affairs between the Emperor and the *Venetians* being thus concluded, *Italy* had an immediate Proſpect of enjoying Peace, which, however, was interrupted for a Time, through the following Occaſion. The Duke of *Urbino*, having been deprived by the Pope of his Dutchy laſt Year, thought this a proper Time to aſſert his Right, and recover it by Force of Arms; but did not hold his Poſſeſſion long, before he was attacked by the united Forces of the Pope and the King of *France*, which ſoon ſo far reduced him, that he gladly accepted of the Propoſals made to him, and ſigned an Agreement, whereby his Dominions were ceded to the Pope, and he retired to *Mantua*, where we ſhall for the preſent leave him.

The War with the Duke of *Urbino* furniſhed the Pope with a Pretence to ſend to the different Princes of *Europe* for Succours; particularly he wrote a Letter to *Henry* the VIIIth, deſiring his Aſſiſtance againſt his Enemies and thoſe of the Church, dated at *Rome*, *June* 20th; he alſo ſent circular Letters to the Biſhops of *England*, commanding them to raiſe an entire Tenth upon their Clergy, in order to help him to ſupport the War of *Urbino*; and likewiſe a Bull, appointing Cardinal *Wolſey* his Collector, empowering him therein to excommunicate all that refuſed to pay, and even deprive them of their Benefices.

Whilſt the Pope was thus employed, he diſcovered a Plot formed againſt his Life; but he had the good Fortune to get into his Poſſeſſion the principal Actors, amongſt whom was his great Favourite, *Hadrian*,

Hadrian, Biſhop of *Bath*, his former Collector in *England*; but the Particulars of this Conſpiracy we ſhall refer for a while.

To ſum up the Affairs of *Italy*, in reſpect to the War that had been carried on there, ſince the Treaty of *Cambray*, by the *Venetians*, great was the Joy of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of *Venice*, * for

* As this Republick has made a great Figure in *Europe*, we ſhall here ſay ſomething concerning thoſe People. We are told, that they had not their Beginning from *Italy*, but came from the *Venetians* of *Gaul*, who dwelt on the Coaſts of the *Ocean* Sea; but this Opinion was grounded upon the Name only, becauſe thoſe who poſſeſſed the *Adriatick* Gulph were, like their Neighbours, very much addicted to Sea-buſineſs, as the *Britiſh* Subjects (Heaven be praiſed!) are at this Day. *Titus Livius*, on the other ſide, affirms, "That the *Venetians* are deſcended "ed from *Paphlagonia*; and "that, their Captain being dead "at *Troy*, they came with *An*"*tenor* into *Italy*." *Cato* thinks the *Venetians* are deſcended from the *Trojan* Race. *Cornelius Nepos* imagines, that the *Venetians* were ſo named in *Italy* of the *Henetians*, who inhabited the Town of *Cromna*, near *Paphlagonia*. Others have written, that this Nation was a Neighbour to the *Cappadocians*, and made War upon the *Cimmerians*, and afterwards came into the *Adriatick* Sea. But ſome think, they poſſeſſed a little Town near to *Amaſtra*, and that they paſſed ſeveral Tracts of Land to meet with the *Henetians*. In ſhort, moſt Authors ſeem at laſt to agree, that they did come from *Paphlagonia*, which *Xenodeus* did not only maintain, but thought, that the City of *Amiſa* was the ſame which was afterwards called *Heniſa*. However, thoſe who ſo think bring as a Proof, the induſtrious Care both theſe Nations had to breed Horſes and Mules, according to the Teſtimony of *Homer*, who ſays, "And from the *Henetians* came "ſtrong Mules." *Strabo* maintains, that the beſt Mares came from the *Venetians*, both for Pace and Swiftneſs; ſo that the *Venetians* will have it, that the *Henetians* came into *Italy* with *Antenor*, and were afterwards, by changing a Letter, called *Venetians*: And whatever they afterwards conquered or poſſeſſed they called it *Venice*, which is the pleaſanteſt Part of *Italy*. Some have confined this Country with the Rivers *Po* and *Adda*, the Lake of *La Guarda*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriatick* Sea. *Pliny* comprehended in the Eaſt Side thereof *Aquileia*; but *Strabo*, on the contrary, cuts it off. This Nation is environed on the South Side by the calm Circuit of Sea, which makes it capable of receiving all manner of foreign

that, after ſo long and dangerous a War, attended with ſo many Calamities and Expences, they had recovered to their Dominions ſo principal a Member, eſteeming the Reward of the War far above the Burthen and Charges of it. Moſt of the Writers ſay concerning this War, that the *Venetians* had expended, ſince the League of *Cambray*, five Millions of Ducats, 500,000 whereof they levied on the Sale of Offices. *Laſtly*, the Inhabitants of *Verona* rejoiced no leſs than the *Venetians* at this Change, as did alſo all the other Cities ſubject to their Commonwealth, hoping now to be delivered from the many Afflictions which ſo long and cruel a War had thrown upon them.

Arms being thus laid aſide, the *Venetians* enjoyed three Years Peace, and, that their People might taſte the Fruits of it, they took off thoſe Taxes that were impoſed on them during the War.* They alſo ordered, that thoſe, who had ſerved the Commonwealth during that Period, and had not been paid their Wages, ſhould be punctually paid. They likewiſe re-eſtabliſhed the Univerſity of *Padua*,† which had been ſhut up for above

reign Merchandizes. It is moreover watered with moſt pleaſant Rivers, by which all that comes from the Sea are eaſily tranſported into the different Provinces. It was ſaid, that the Election of their firſt *Doge* was in the Year 697, ſince which the Power of the *Doge* hath often varied; inſomuch, that at laſt it dwindled into an empty Title, void of any Authority. This Republick has four principal Councils: 1ſt, The Nobility. 2d, The 120 *Pregadi*, choſen out of them, of which the Senate is compoſed. 3d, The *Doge* and his 25 *Aſſeſſors*. 4th, The Council of *Ten*.

* Glorious Example this!

† The antient City of *Padua* is ſeated in the midſt of a ſpacious Plain, in a Province belonging to *Venice*, called *Marca Trivigiana*, having the Sea at 20 Miles diſtant on the *Eaſt* and *South* Parts thereof; on the *Weſt* a large Champion Country, and on the *North* the Mountains *Euganei*. It is of a triangular Form, invironed with double Walls and very deep Ditches; and the *Venetians* from time to time have greatly ſtrengthened it, by almoſt immenſe Walls and Bulwarks built according to modern Fortification.

The

above eight Years. In ſhort, every thing had now a good Aſpect at *Venice*, and Peace and Plenty begun to flouriſh, which induced them to ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Ottoman Porte*, to *Henry* King of *England*, *Charles* King of *Spain*, and other Princes, in order

The Palace, or Hall of Juſtice, in this City, is certainly, according to all Accounts, the faireſt and moſt ſpacious of *Chriſtendom*: 'Tis covered with Lead, and round about goes a ſtately Corridor of Marble.

Near the Palace ſtood the Schools for all Learning, which conſiſted of ten Colleges. This Pile of Building was the ſecond Marvel not only of *Padua*, but of *Europe*: Within was a ſquare Court; the Building two Stories high, ſuſtained with moſt fair Pillars; and in every Corner were the Arms of all ſuch as have been Conſuls or Protectors in that Univerſity; ſome in Colours only, ſome in Colours and Stone, with their Country, Name, and the Year ſet up; all done at the *Venetians* Charge, to make famous this Nurſery of Learning.

The *Anatomick* Theatre, erected in thoſe Schools, ſtands above, is moſt neatly contrived, and very commodious both for the Profeſſor and the Spectators.

This Univerſity was once as the Market-place of Learning, and approached the neareſt to the Academy of *Athens*, in the Eſteem of the Learned; and conſequently to this Place, from all Parts of the World, thronged the moſt eminent in all the Liberal Sciences, and no ſmall Number of the Nobles, as Scholars, not only from all Parts of *Italy*, and its neighbouring Provinces, but from the fartheſt Parts of the *Chriſtian* World.

In the ten Colleges, were allowed honourable Penſions to many Scholars; to deſcribe them would take up more room than can be ſpared here.

In the Palace of the Biſhop theſe Things are worth a Sight; the moſt ample Dioceſe of *Padua*, drawn in a large Square by *Marco Cornaro*, once its Biſhop, a Prelate worthy of eternal Memory; and a great Hall, where to the Life (as is believed) are drawn the Pictures of 112 Biſhops of this moſt antient and noble City.

At preſent this famous Univerſity is ſtripped of its former Luſtre, (by the late Wars, and the Death of ſo many learned Profeſſors who had with high Reputation filled her Chairs) her Students being reduced from 12 or 13,000, their ordinary Number, to 430; and of the ten Colleges, or publick Schools, there is only one remaining, called the College of the *Ox*. *See Monſieur* Blainville's *Travels in* Italy, *&c. p.* 445.

Between the Church *del Santo*, and that of *San Giuſtina*, is ſituated the *Phyſick Garden* filled with every Thing that is curious, and planted in the Year 1546, at the Coſt of the Students in *Phyſick* and *Philoſophy*, for the more

order to ſettle a friendly Intercourſe with the different Kingdoms of *Europe*, hoping thereby to retrieve the Trade of their Subjects, which had been ſo long interrupted

more commodious Search into the Nature and Vertue of every Medicinal Herb and Tree. The chief Care and Cuſtody of this Garden is always committed to ſome excellent Doctor in Phyſick, who frequently reads publick Lectures to the Students on the Nature and Uſe of every Thing therein. In the laſt Age, *Melchior Guillandino*, *Giacomo Antonio Cortuſo*, and *Proſpero Alpino*, three excellent Profeſſors, underwent this Charge; as likewiſe the learned *Giovanni Veſtlingbio*, or *Weſtlingius*, a Knight, and *Anatomy* Reader in the Univerſity: A Man allowed ſo great an Eſteem for his excellent Knowledge, that he was become the Admiration of that Age.

A worthy and noble Perſon of our Nation, being caſually at *Padua*, at the Promotion of certain *Engliſh* Gentlemen to the Degree of Doctors, and who had been an Auditor at ſome of his Lectures, compoſed theſe enſuing Verſes upon *Anatomy*.

Learned Weſtlingius, *had we but the Art,*
To tell the Treaſures of the nobler Part;
And could the Soul's high Pow'rs deſcribe, as well
As you, the Palace where that Queen does dwell,
In her Anatomy *my Muſe might find*
Praiſes proportion'd to your knowing Mind;
To whoſe great Art and Induſtry we owe,
That all the Wonders of our Frame we know.
For not the Inventory we alone,
Of ev'ry Nerve, Vein, Artery and Bone,
Receive from thence, but are inſtructed too,
What the wiſe Maker has deſign'd them to:
The great Importance of the ſlend'reſt String
And uſe of ev'ry (ſeeming uſeleſs) Thing:
As if our firſt Creator you had ſeen,
Or had of Council with Prometheus *been,*
That all the Plagues, which his raſh Brother threw
On wretched Man, might have their Cure from you.

It's certain the Study of *Botany* was one of the earlieſt we read of, (See Dr. *James*'s Dict. Letter B.) and, as it's eſteemed the Pillar of Medicine, we are not a loſs to account why the *Venetians* encouraged ſo uſeful a Science, by taking care of, and ſupporting their *Phyſick Garden*, which, no doubt, induced *Lewis* the XIVth of *France*, who was a great Favourer of the Arts and Sciences, to cauſe an *Herbal* to be engraved at his own Expence.

And here we cannot forget how greatly our Country is indebted

rupted by the Continuance of the War. But, before we quit the *Venetians*, we muſt not here omit to take notice, that the Doge wrote at this time a very reſpectful Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*, wherein he acknowledged the many Favours that the Republick had received from his Royal Maſter, and concluded his Letter with telling his Eminency, "That the "high Promotion he had obtained was owing to "his Perſonal Merit, and great Abilities."

The Doge writes to Cardinal Wolſey.

Francis K. of *France*, tho' he had great Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with his Holineſs's Conduct towards him, never ceaſed courting his Friendſhip, in hopes thereby to ſtay him from ſecretly endeavouring to rekindle a War in *Milan*, which might poſſibly end in loſing that Dutchy. After ſeveral Schemes for that Purpoſe, he at laſt imagining he had found an infallible Means to attach the holy Father to his Intereſts, propoſed to *Lorenzo de Medici*, the Pope's Nephew, a very advantageous Match with *Magdalene*, Heireſs of the Houſe of *Bologn*. This Propoſal was very agreeable to *Lorenzo*, and accordingly accepted of, who repaired to *Paris*,

debted to the learned Sir *Hans Sloane*, for the noble Preſent he made to the *Apothecaries* Company at *Chelſea*, of a Spot of Ground, and a handſome Building for Green-Houſes, *&c.* In the Ground they have planted a moſt noble Phyſick Garden, and richly ſtored the Green-houſes with all manner of Exoticks, *&c.* of which Mr. *Rand* has the Inſpection, and Mr. *Miller* is the head Gardner. How far it equals that at *Padua* we leave to the Learned in that Study to determine. And, to make this grand and uſeful Deſign as compleat as may be at preſent, Sir *Hans Sloane*, Dr. *Mead*, (who, as we are informed, was educated at *Padua*) and others eminent in the Faculty, with the Royal College of Phyſicians in *London*, have greatly encouraged the Undertaking and Publication of an *Herbal* of the moſt uſeful Phyſick Plants in the ſaid Garden, *&c.* engraved on Copper-Plates as big as Life, with their Roots, Stems, Leaves, Flowers, Fruits and Seeds, curiouſly drawn, engraved and coloured by the ingenious Mrs. *Blackwell*; to which is added Explanations, with their Names in different Languages, and the proper Seaſons of Blowing, *&c.* The kind Reception this Work has met with at Home, as well as Abroad, is well known.

Paris, where he married the Lady in the Preſence of his Majeſty, the Duke of *Bourbon*, &c.* Here we find he ſtood Godfather, in the Pope's Name, to the Dauphin, who was named *Francis*, and born the beginning of this Year. The Pope, as an Acknowledgment for

* As this Prince will make a conſiderable Figure in this Hiſtory, we hope it will not be unacceptable here to introduce a ſhort Account of him. *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Conſtable of *France*, was the ſecond of *Gilbert*, Duke of *Montpenſier*'s three Sons, deſcended from the only Branch of *Bourbon*, which was unfortunate; for his Father, the Duke, loſt his Life in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Charles* the VIIIth had left him Viceroy: His eldeſt Brother expired with Grief upon his Father's Tomb: (*See Vol.* 1. *p.* 217, &c.) And the youngeſt was killed at the Battle of *Marignan*, in the Year 1515. As to the *Conſtable*, he appeared at Court when *Claudia* of *France* was married to *Francis* the Iſt, in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIIth; and the Tournaments, Matches, and Divertiſements, much in Vogue at that Time in *Europe*, gave him an Opportunity to ſignalize his Strength and Activity: But it was his Misfortune, in deſpite of himſelf, to be the Object of the Counteſs of *Angouleſme*'s Affection, who, upon her Son, King *Francis*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, had a great Share in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs.

This Prince early took notice of *Bourbon*'s rare Endowments, which rendered him worthy to be beloved; for the Hiſtorians ſay, that he was extremely beautiful, diſcreet, liberal, and valiant; nor did his frank Humour, which much reſembled that of the antient *Gauls*, hinder him from being ſucceſsful in all manner of Intrigues; for, tho' he was very open, yet he governed himſelf ſo well in all Negotiations, and delivered what he had to ſay with ſo much Art, that he baffled the Deſigns of the moſt refined Politicians. The Sweetneſs of his Manners acquired him the Love of the *French* Nation, and the exact Diſcipline he kept among his Soldiers gained him the Eſteem of his Enemies. In ſhort, every thing ſeemed to conſpire to his Conqueſts and Grandeur, (as if *Fortune* had been unavoidably bound to follow him) for, from his firſt bearing Arms, the *French* had been victorious wherever he was, and were vanquiſhed wherever he was not. And the Hiſtorians poſitively aver, "That he was "beholden only to his own De- "ſerts for the Dignity of Con- "ſtable: That he wanted no- "thing to accompliſh him for "the Hero of his Age, but a "little more Complacency for "the King's Mother, who loved "him; or a little leſs Reſent- "ment for the Injury ſhe did "him, when ſhe ſaw herſelf "ſlighted or neglected by "him."

for the King's Favour to his Nephew, granted him a Power to levy the Tenths upon the Clergy in his Dominions, under Colour of making Preparations for War, to oppoſe the *Turks*; but he took care to aſſign out of it 50,000 Livres, to defray the Charges of the Wedding. Notwithſtanding all this, his Holineſs could not help expreſſing his Uneaſineſs at the *French* having ſo large Poſſeſſions in *Italy*; but it was not now a proper Time to take any Step to diſlodge them, having other Affairs of greater Conſequence depending.

Affairs of Scotland. 1517.

In the Year 1515 we left *Scotland* in a very unhappy Situation. *Alexander Hume* and his Brother, upon their Arrival in *England*, were commanded by the King to ſtay at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, till they ſhould know his further Pleaſure. Queen *Margaret* had been ſome time in *London*, where ſhe was treated with great Diſtinction and Reſpect, both by their Majeſties and the whole Court.

In the mean time the Duke of *Albany* was very much concerned at the Flight of ſuch great Perſonages, and, to prevent their making an Impreſſion on his Majeſty to his Prejudice, he ſent a ſpecial Ambaſſador into *England*, with a Commiſſion to defend him againſt any Reflections, touching his Conduct in *Scotland*. This Ambaſſador, in an Audience of his Majeſty, aſſured the King, that the Regent had done nothing to induce the Queen, or the Nobility who had retired out of *Scotland*, to fear any ill Treatment in caſe they had ſtaid at their own Court; and that both her Majeſty and her Followers were at Liberty to return to *Scotland*, and enjoy their Eſtates the ſame as before. The Ambaſſador alſo, in the Duke's Name, deſired a Truce with *England*, and, to ſhew the Sincerity of the Regent's Intentions, he told the King, that the Duke was ready to come into *England* in Perſon, to pay him his Devoirs. This Com-

plaiſance induced him to conſent to a Truce with *Scotland*, which was afterwards prolonged to the End of this Year.

However, the *Humes* in particular did not accept of the Terms offered by the Ambaſſador, but continued in *England*.

The States, upon their Aſſembling, being informed thereof, commanded *Alexander* to appear before them, who not appearing, they condemned him, and confiſcated his Goods: Notwithſtanding this, thro' the Perſuaſion of his Friends, he was at laſt induced to ſurrender himſelf to the Regent, was carried to *Edinburgh*, and put in Cuſtody of the Earl of *Arran*, his Siſter's Huſband, who was to be deemed a Traytor, in caſe he let him Eſcape: But *Hume*, upon this, perſuaded *Arran* to eſcape with him, and form a Party, in hopes of getting the Government into their Hands.

When the Regent heard this he went to the Earl's Caſtle, and forced it to ſurrender in two Days. In the mean time *Hume* was not idle, for he pillaged the Country round about *Dunbar*, and burnt and deſtroyed great part of the Country.

In the Spring of the Year, 1517, *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, whoſe Mother was the Earl of *Arran*'s Siſter, joined the Rebels with ſome Forces; but, before any great Matters were tranſacted, at the Interceſſion of Friends, the Regent was induced to pardon both the Earls and *Hume*; and thereupon they all returned to Court. But *Alexander Hume* could not reſt here, for it was not long before he was plotting new Miſchief, which being diſcovered, *Alexander*,* with his

* Tho' this great Man met with ſo unfortunate an End, yet the Name and Family was not loſt in *Scotland*; for one of his Deſcendants was created Earl of *Hume* by King *James* the Iſt of *England*; and this Title is now enjoyed by the preſent Right Honourable *William Hume*, Earl of *Hume*, who is alſo of this Family, and no ſmall Ornament to that as well as his Country.

his Brother *William* were condemned to ſuffer Death; which was accordingly executed on them, by cutting off their Heads, and placing them upon the moſt conſpicuous Parts of the City of *Edinburgh*, as a Terror to others: And thus *Alexander Hume*, one of the moſt powerful Men in *Scotland*, unhappily loſt his Life.

Alexander left three Brothers behind him, who all met with various Misfortunes. *George*, for Murder, lay as an Exile in *England*; *John*, Abbot of *Jedburgh*, was baniſhed beyond the *Tay*; *David*, the youngeſt, fell into an Ambuſh, and was killed, tho' much pitied by all, being an innocent, hopeful young Gentleman.

When Calamities had thus purſued and almoſt ruined the Family of the *Humes*, it was remarked, that Calamities alſo fell to *John Hepburn*'s Share, a profeſſed Enemy of theirs.

After theſe different Proceedings the Affairs of the State ſoon became more quiet, which induced the Regent to bring the King from *Sterling* Caſtle to *Edinburgh*. Soon after this he had an Inclination to take a Tour to *France*, which was very much oppoſed at firſt by the Nobility, tho' at laſt they conſented to it: But, before he ſet out, he committed the Government of the Kingdom, in his Abſence, to the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*; the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntley*, and *Anthony Darcy*, a *Frenchman*, Governor of *Dunbar*.

As ſoon as the Duke Regent was embarked for *France*, Queen *Margaret* departed from *London*, highly ſatisfied with her Brother's generous Treatment, and was met at *Berwick* by her Huſband, the Earl of *Angus*, who conducted her to *Edinburgh*, where ſhe was joyfully received by the People.

Affairs of Ireland. 1517.

The Lord Deputy of *Ireland* continued very active to repreſs the Incurſions of the *wild Iriſh*, and, to ſhew he was as well qualified for War as for Peace, invaded *Imaly*, and

ſlew *Slaney O' Toole* in Battle, and ſent his Head to the Mayor of *Dublin*. From *Imaly* he marched into *Ely O'Carol*, where he was joined by the Earls of *Ormond* and *Deſmond* with new Strength, and they beſieged and took the Caſtle of *Lemevan*, which he ordered to be demoliſhed. Then they attacked and took the Town of *Clonwell*; after which the Deputy cloſed the Campaign, and returned in Triumph to *Dublin*, where he was received in great State, about the End of *December*.

It was obſerved, that the credulous *Iriſh* had great Expectation of Advantage this Year, by reaſon of a blind Prophecy generally believed among them, *That the Pooreſt and Weakeſt ſhould become the moſt Powerful and Warlike.* It's probable, that this might provoke the Lord Deputy to make the laſt Expedition. However this may be, *Cox* remarks, "That Superſtition and fond Belief have been often fatal to the "*Iriſh* Nation."

The Deputy, in the beginning of the Year 1517, marched at the Head of his Army into *Ulſter*, and took the Caſtle of *Dundrian*, which had done great Injury to the *Engliſh*. Thence he marched againſt *Fylemy Macgenis*, whom he conquered and took Priſoner. Then he marched into *Tyronne*, and took and deſtroyed the Caſtle of *Dungannon*. But the Citizens of *Dublin* had not ſo good Fortune; for a Company of them marching to make an Incurſion into *Imaly*, they met with more Reſiſtance than they expected, and were glad to return to *Dublin*, throw down their Arms, and take up the Trades they were bred to.

The kind Fortune that attended the Deputy had ſo good an Effect, that *Ireland* was reduced to a quiet Condition before the Year 1517 expired.

The Turks *much enlarge their Empire.*

During the Time the *European* Princes had been buſy in warring with each other, the *Ottoman Porte* was every Day adding

EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. I.

adding new Dominions to their Empire, having the laſt and this Year conquered *Grand Cairo*, beſides all *Suria* and *Egypt*: Inſomuch that Victory attended them wherever they came; and, as there were no Princes capable of withſtanding their Arms in the *Eaſtern* World, it was given out, that the *Porte* intended ſhortly to turn their Arms, in order to make further Conqueſts in *Europe*. Theſe Accounts could not but alarm the *Chriſtian* Princes, whoſe Intereſt in general, according to all Appearance, was that of oppoſing, eſpecially on this Side the Globe, the Progreſs of ſo formidable an Enemy; and this induced the Emperor *Maximilian*, (who continued fond of Treaty-making) as he had ſhut himſelf out of *Italy*, by his late Agreement with the *Venetians*, to repair to his Grandſon *Charles*'s Court, in order to concert Meaſures with that Prince in Perſon, for the better Preſervation of *Chriſtendom*, againſt the Infidels; and afterwards to paſs into the Empire, to conſult with the *German* Princes on the ſame Occaſion.

The Emperor arrives at King Charles's *Court.*

In the Month of *March*, the Emperor arrived at his Grandſon's Court in *Flanders*, where they expreſſed great Joy at ſeeing each other, and ſoon ſet on Foot a Negotiation, in order to form a League againſt the *Turks*: This they communicated to the Kings of *England* and *France*, requeſting them to join in ſo pious a Defence, which was calculated, as they alledged, for no leſs End than that of preſerving their *holy Religion* againſt *Infidels*, and the two Kings ſoon ſignified, by their Ambaſſadors, their Readineſs to come into ſuch Treaty. In ſhort, the Treaty was firſt ſigned between the Emperor, *Maximilian*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, wherein they left room for the King of *England*, which he ſoon after ſupplied.

When this grand Affair was effected the Emperor took a ſuitable Leave of his Grandſon, and ſet

The Emperor paſſes into Germany.

ſet out for *Germany*, where he employed his Time in ſtirring up the *German* Princes to join in a League againſt the *Turks*: In the midſt of theſe Proceedings we ſhall leave the Emperor big with the Imagination of putting a Stop to the Progreſs of ſuch unwelcome Neighbours.

The King of Spain *grants Cardinal* Wolſey *a Penſion.*

Charles, King of *Spain*, was ſtill carrying on his Preparations in order to paſs into his new Kingdom; but, as he had obſerved the high Eſteem Cardinal *Wolſey* was in with the King of *England*, he firſt particularly diſtinguiſhed him, by writing a very reſpectful Letter to him; and, that it might not be attended with good Words only, he was pleaſed to grant him a Penſion of 3000 Livres. The Grant is dated at *Ghent*, *June* the 8th, 1517, wherein the young King calls him, *Our moſt dear and ſpecial Friend.*

King Charles *lands in* Spain.

All Things being ſettled on the Side of *Flanders*, King *Charles*, having made his Aunt *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Governeſs of the *Low Countries*, ſet out, the latter end of *July*, for *Spain*, embarked at *Middleburg*, attended by a Fleet of eighty Sail; and, on the 13th of *Auguſt*, landed at *Villa Vicioſa* in *Aſturias*, where he was nobly received by the Gentry; yet he was greatly ſurprized at the uncouth Cuſtoms of the *Spaniſh* Nation; for they affected a proud Singularity and peculiar Obſtinacy in obſerving the old Forms and Diſciplines, being above receiving Inſtructions from any other Nation, looking upon all others with Contempt. But *Charles*, though young, had ſo much Prudence as to conform himſelf to their odd Ways, by putting on an uncommon Gravity; yet he could not help ſhewing a ſingular Regard to his *Flemiſh* Subjects that attended him, which gained him many Enemies: However, by Means of the vaſt Revenues, accruing to the Crown from the *Indies*, he had it in his Power to ſupport his Friends, and draw his Enemies to his Intereſts.

From

From *Villa Vicioſa* he paſſed to *St. Vincente de la Barquera*, where he continued ſome Days. Cardinal *Ximenes* was then very much indiſpoſed at the Monaſtery of *Aguilera*, and, there having been ſome Difference between him and the Council, they had left him; but his Majeſty, as ſoon as he heard of it, ordered them to attend him again, which they did. In his Way to *Valladolid* the King viſited his unhappy, diſtracted Mother* at *Jurdeſillas*, near *Valladolid*. He ſent two Letters, one to the Cardinal, and another to the Council, ordering them to meet him at *Majados*: That to the Cardinal runs thus:

" *My Lord Cardinal,*

" I hold on my Journey by Way of *Jurdeſillas*, " whereof I thought fit to advertiſe you, that you may " come to *Majados*, the Biſhop of *Segorges*'s Houſe, " where I deſire to ſee you, and to receive your " good Counſel, not only for the Conduct of my " Eſtate, but the ordering of my Family, which I " will regulate according to your ſage Advice. This " is the laſt Help I can receive of you in my Affairs, " for your long Services deſerve Repoſe, your Age " requires it, I grant it willingly, and adviſe you to " retire to your Houſe, to enjoy Repoſe with more " Pleaſure. God alone can give you a juſt Recompence for your long Travels in the Conduct of this " Kingdom. As for me, I ſhall never forget them, " and will ever pay you the Reſpect due from a " good-natured Child, to a careful and bounteous " Father."

This

* This Princeſs lived 50 Years a Widow, always in perfect bodily Health, being 73 Years old when ſhe fell ſick, and died the 11th of *April*, 1555. She was ſo impatient and mad, that all her Servants were quite tired out. A few Days before her Death ſhe is ſaid to have come to herſelf, and made a pious End. Her Family was in a miſerable poor Condition, as the Marquis of *Dinia*, who had the keeping of her, acquainted King *Charles*, which indeed, ſays a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, is a great Reflection on him.

This Letter ſhews *Charles* (though he was as much obliged to the *Cardinal*, as to him who gave him the Crown of *Spain*) ſoon forgot the Services of this grand Miniſter, which fully confirms the Proverb, *That Services under the Great are not Inheritances.* It is affirmed, that the Letter made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Cardinal, that the Fever, which he was then affected with, was ſo heightened, that it ſoon brought him to his Grave. Some *Spaniſh* Writers relate, that the Courier, who carried the Letter, finding the Cardinal very ill, delivered it not, but carried it back to King *Charles*'s Council, and delivered it to *Adrian*, his Majeſty's former Preceptor. Others affirm, that he received it on his Death-bed, called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, to anſwer it, had writ three or four Lines, but, his Strength failing him, the Pen dropped out of his Hand, and, falling back in his Bed, inſtantly expired, which happened on *Sunday*, the 9th of *Nov.* 1517, in the 80th Year of his Age, having worn the Mitre of *Toledo* 22 Years, and governed *Spain* as many, under *Ferdinand*, *Iſabella*, *Jane*, *Philip*, and *Charles*.

Cardinal Ximenes's Death.

Hiſtorians ſay, as the Cardinal perceived he was upon the Brink of Eternity, he made an End anſwerable to the Station of Life he had lived in, and, to ſum up our Account of him, the Reader may view him in a Friar's Frock, in the Pomp of a Cardinal, in the ſolitary Retirement of an Hermitage, attended with Legions of armed Men, praying in a Cloiſter, judging on a Throne, begging Alms, beſtowing Provinces on Princes in Diſtreſs, dead to the World, living in it with Content, and buried in a Monaſtery, to obtain a glorious Reſurrection. *Fortune*, the Miſtreſs of mundane Viciſſitudes, waited on *Ximenes*, as a Page-errant, thro' the Solitudes of Convents and Cloiſters, into

General View of his Life.

into the glorious Splendor of Palaces and Sovereign Courts.

Of his Perſon and Qualities.

As to his Perſon, he was tall and ſtrait of Stature, ſerious in Look, carrying in his Face natural Gravity; his Voice was maſculine and firm, his Viſage long and meagre, his Forehead large without Wrinkles; middling Eyes, ſomewhat deep ſet in his Head, but very lively; his Noſe long and Aquiline; his Teeth jutting out a little towards his Lips, which gave the Courtiers occaſion, in Raillery, to call him the Elephant: But in this they ſpoke more Truth than they thought for; he muſt needs have been an Elephant in Strength, who ſuſtained the Weight of ſo many Affairs. He expreſſed himſelf in a very few Words, but handſome and ſignificant; his Anſwers were clear and intelligible; and, when he diſcourſed of any Buſineſs, he never ſtrayed from the Point. What he once reſolved on, he executed with incredible Promptitude. *Saluſt* had taught him that Leſſon, which he would often repeat, *That nimble Execution ought to tread on the Heels of deliberate Reſolutions.* He took the utmoſt Delight in beſtowing Benefices in his Gift on Perſons capable, who ſought them not, nor knew of the Vacancies; the Way to obtain Promotion from him was not to beg it of him. One of his Almoners had Advice of a Vacancy very convenient for him, but fearing that, if he aſked the Cardinal for it, he might probably beſtow it on ſome other, he preſented himſelf to his Maſter, and ſpoke thus: "My "Lord, ſuch a Benefice is void, to deſire it of you "were to violate your Laws, and the Prohibitions "you have made on that Behalf, which I will ne"ver do, nor came I to that Purpoſe, but humbly "to crave your Directions how to obtain it." The Cardinal liked his Addreſs, and anſwered, "You "ſhall have the Benefice;" and accordingly gave

it him: Nor did ever Man ſerve him, in or out of his Family, that was not largely rewarded.

God made Man free, Fortune hath robbed him of that Liberty when reduced under the Servitude of Great Ones, who are guilty of raviſhing from him what is moſt precious, his Liberty and his Time, unleſs they reſtore them the Fruits of the one and the other, by way of Recompence, in ample Rewards, which alone can repair the Loſs of this latter, being irrecoverable.

To conclude, ſuch was the Life, and ſuch were the Actions of *Francis Ximenes*, (ſurnamed, for the Effects of his Prudence, the Cardinal of *Spain*) that his Counſels are to this Day obſerved in that Kingdom, and his Virtues ſerve the World for Directions in almoſt every Station of Life. He was buried in his College at *Alcala*, in a Tomb of White Marble, and his Effigies on the ſame is ſtill to be ſeen, with the following Epitaph.

CONDIDERAM MUSIS FRANCISCUS GRANDE LYCÆUM
CONDOR IN EXIGUO NUNC EGO SARCOPHAGO,
PRÆTEXTAM JUNXI SACCO, GALEAMQUE GALERO,
FRATER DUX, PRÆSUL, CARDINEUSQUE PATER,
QUIN VIRTUTE MEA JUNCTUM EST DIADEMA CUCULLO?
CUM MIHI REGNANTI, PARUIT HISPERIA.

Thus in *Engliſh*:

I Francis, *that had erected a grand Structure for the Muſes, am now confined in a narrow Grave. I joined the Robe to the Hair-cloth, the Helmet to the Hat, the Fryar to the General, the Prelate to the Cardinal-Prieſt.*

Why was not the Diadem, by my Virtue added to my Cowl? When I reign'd, Spain *obey'd without Controul.*

At

At *Mojados* the Council met the King, and, on the 18th of *Nov.* he made his ſolemn Entry into *Valladolid*, where he conferred the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, vacant by the Death of *Ximenes*, on *William de Croy*, Biſhop of *Cambray*; and, before the Year expired, *Adrian* was made a Cardinal. To this Place Ambaſſadors attended on his Majeſty from all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, to congratulate him on his happy Arrival in *Spain*; but the *French* Ambaſſador had it alſo in Commiſſion, to demand the Reſtitution of the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Henry d'Albert*, Son of the deceaſed King: To which *Charles* anſwered in general Terms, "That that Matter ſhould be "ſoon taken into Conſideration." At *Chriſtmas* there was extraordinary *Tilting* and *Feaſting*, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Days: But theſe Sports ſoon ended with a Plague, which broke out at the Concluſion of this Year, and carried off abundance of People.

The Spaniſh *Council attend their new King.*

King *Charles*, by the Acceſſion of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to his other Dominions, became a very powerful Prince, and every Day he gave freſh Proofs of his great Abilities; ſo that the World begun to think, that the better Part of *Europe* and *Africa* might in Time throw themſelves at his Feet: And here we ſhall leave him improving himſelf in the Knowledge of Government, and ſettling his Domeſtick Concerns.

Now his Holineſs had no leſs taken the Alarm, than the other *Chriſtian* Princes, at the growing Greatneſs of the *Turks*; therefore, as the Emperor, and the Kings of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, had entred into a League for their mutual Defence, and that of *Chriſtendom* in general, this gave him the Opportunity of putting in Execution his Project for raiſing Money from the *Chriſtians*, which was the Fore-runner

The Pope publiſhes a Cruſade againſt the Turks.

ner of one of the moſt ſurprizing REVOLUTIONS, that ever happened ſince the *Chriſtian* Religion was planted in *Europe*, even that of the REFORMATION. His Holineſs, as an Encouragement for *Chriſtians* to contribute on that Occaſion, granted them plenary Indulgences, and cauſed them to be ſold at ſo moderate a Price, that a Man muſt have been very careleſs of his Salvation, not to purchaſe them. That the Monies, ariſing from the Sale of theſe Indulgences, might be regularly collected, all *Chriſtendom* was divided into ſo many Diviſions, and in each were appointed Collectors, and Preachers to extol the Benefit of Indulgences, which extended even to the Dead, whoſe Souls, on paying ſo much Money, were to be immediately redeemed out of *Purgatory*.

Guicciardin affirms, "That the *Power* of releaſing "Souls out of Purgatory was openly payed for in "Taverns." The People had likewiſe, by theſe Indulgences, the Liberty of eating *Eggs*, and *white Meat* on Faſt-days.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* had his Part of *Chriſtendom* aſſigned him, for appointing Preachers, which was *Saxony*; and for that Purpoſe he appointed the *Jacobins*; whereas, in the former *Cruſades*, the *Auguſtin* Fryars had been employed; ſo that they thought themſelves neglected, and much injured, and even publickly complained of it; but all to no Purpoſe, the Archbiſhop perſiſting in his firſt Appointment.

The firſt Occaſion of the Reformation.

The *Auguſtins*, finding the Archbiſhop obſtinately bent in employing the *Jacobins*, began to enquire into the Authority the Pope had for granting theſe Indulgences; and *Martin Luther*, one of that Order, publiſhed ſeveral Pieces, containing many ſatyrical Remarks on them, which being approved of by the whole Order, they publickly ridiculed both the Collectors and Preachers.

As

As *Luther* had a great Share in the *Reformation*, and as his Doctrines are held in high Eſtimation in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, and his Followers even at this Day called *Lutherans*, we ſhall here make a ſhort Enquiry into the Riſe and Progreſs of this Great Divine.

The Original and Life of Martin Luther.

Martin Luther was born at *Iſleben*, in the Earldom of *Mansfield* in *Germany*, in the Year 1483, being the Son of *John* and *Margaret Luther*; the Family-eſtate lying at *Mansfield*, *John* was choſen a Magiſtrate, and was honoured for his Integrity of Life. *Martin* was firſt educated under *George Emilius*; at 14 Years of Age he went to *Magdeburg*, where he lived a poor Scholar one Year; from thence he was removed by his Parents to *Iſenack*; from thence, in the Year 1501, to the Univerſity of *Ersford*, where he profited ſo much in the Knowledge of Learning, that the whole Univerſity admired his Genius. At 20 Years of Age he was made *Maſter of Arts*, *Profeſſor* of *Phyſick*, *Ethicks*, and other Parts of *Philoſophy*. Then he betook himſelf to the Study of the *Law*; but at the Age of 21 (being greatly ſurprized at the violent Death of a faithful Companion, whom he dearly loved) he retired into the College of *Auguſtin* Fryars at *Ersford*, and ſoon became one of their Order.

In the Library of that College he met with a Copy of a *Latin* Bible, with which he was highly delighted; he alſo read over *Auguſtin*'s Works; but, falling ſick, an old Prieſt attended him, who often ſaid, *Be of good Cheer, your Diſeaſe is not mortal; God will raiſe you up to afford Comfort to many others.* The Prieſt alſo diſcourſed with him about *Juſtification by Faith*, and explained the Articles of the Creed.

Luther, when recovered, diligently read the Schoolmen, eſpecially *Occamus*,* in which Studies he ſpent five

* Eſteemed an eminent Writer among them.

five Years. In 1507, he was made *Presbyter*: And *John Stanpicious*, endeavouring to promote the Univerſity of *Wittenberg* (then lately founded) knowing the Learning of *Luther*, induced him to remove thither in 1508. He was ſent to *Rome*, on the Behalf of the Convent; and the Writers of his Life relate, that he took a Diſtaſte whilſt he was there againſt the *Roman* Clergy, and that, upon his Return, he was pleaſed to ſay, "*At Rome I heard them ſay Maſs, in* "*ſuch a Manner as I deteſt them for: At the Commu-* "*nion Table I heard Courtezans laugh and boaſt of their* "*Wickedneſs.*" Then, ſpeaking *concerning the Bread and Wine of the Altar*, he ſaid, "*Bread thou art, and* "*Bread thou ſhalt remain*; *Wine thou art, and Wine* "*thou ſhalt remain.*"

Soon after this, he was made *Doctor in Divinity*, at the Charge of the Elector of *Saxony*, who heard him preach, and admired the Soundneſs of his Doctrines, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Excellency of the Language he uſed. He next proceeded to explain the *Epiſtle to the Romans*, and ſome *Pſalms*, wherein he ſhewed the Difference between the *Law* and the *Goſpel*, refuted *Juſtification by Works*, &c. And ſome of the Authors, who have ſpoke concerning him, ſay further, "That his Demeanour agreed "with his Doctrine; his Speech ſeemed to flow "from his Heart, not from his Lips only." He alſo ſtudied *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which were called the *New Learning* in thoſe Days.

By *Luther*'s oppoſing and writing againſt the *Indulgences*, he drew upon himſelf many Enemies, which put him on ſearching more narrowly into the Reaſon and Authority of thoſe Indulgences, and was at laſt convinced (as it was ſaid) there was no Foundation for them in the *Holy Scriptures*; and, being reflected upon, for making this Oppoſition, and even by many called a *Heretick*, he publiſhed a Paper, in his own Juſtification, to the following Effect: "I

"*Martin*

" *Martin Luther*, Doctor of the Order of *Hermits* " at *Wittenberg*, would have it publickly teſtified, " that I have ſet forth certain Propoſitions againſt the " Pope's Indulgences, as they call them; but, albeit " our famous and worthy School, nor the Civil nor " Eccleſiaſtical Power have hitherto condemned me; " yet, as I hear there are certain Men of violent " and bold Wit, who dare to pronounce me an *Here-* " *tick*, as if they throughly underſtood the whole " Matter, I beſeech every one, as I have often done " before, by the *Chriſtian* Faith, that they either ſhew " me a better Way, if it be revealed by God to " any of them, or elſe let them ſubmit their Sen- " tence to God and his Church's Judgment; for " neither am I ſo raſh, that I would have my Opi- " nion alone to be preferred before all others, nor " ſo dotiſh, that I would have the *Word of God* " be placed after Fables deviſed by human Rea- " ſon."

Pope *Leo* at firſt did not much regard either *Luther*'s Writings, or the Proteſtation he had ſet forth, not imagining, that a ſingle Fryar could prejudice the Papal Authority, but continued to ſell his *Indulgences*; and *Luther*, on his Part, wherever he came, took all poſſible Pains to ridicule them; on which Occaſions he earneſtly exhorted the People to ſearch the *Scriptures*, by which he inſiſted the Pope had no Authority for iſſuing thoſe *Indulgences*; and therefore adviſed the People to reject them, as not warranted by *God*'s *Law*, which ought to be preferred before any human Invention. Hence ſprung the *Reformation*, which ſpread itſelf through *Germany* and ſeveral other Parts of *Europe*.

His Holineſs writes to Henry *the* VIIIth.

His Holineſs, on the Occaſion of carrying on the War againſt the *Turks*, writ to *Henry* the VIIIth, exhorting him to promote this good Work, and therein highly commended him for his conſtant Zeal for the

the *Holy See*, and the Extenſion of the *Faith*; concluding his Letter with requeſting the King to advance 200,000 Ducats, in order to be made uſe of in the intended religious War.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

Henry returned an Anſwer in general Terms, thanking the Pope for the Encomiums beſtowed on him, and expreſſing his Readineſs to do every Thing in his Power to aſſiſt againſt the *Infidels*, as becoming a true Son of the Church, when Occaſion required, in Conjunction with other *Chriſtian* Princes; but ſaid but little about parting with his Money.

Rapin's *Remark thereon.*

" A Man muſt, as *Rapin* obſerves, " wilfully have ſhut his Eyes, not to ſee " that the *Cruſade* was made uſe of only " as a Pretence to fill the Pope's Coffers;" who alſo avers, " That the Reaſon, *Henry* did not come " into the Pope's Meaſures, was owing to the preſent Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*; for that " *Henry* had no great Occaſion for the Pope."

We are glad to find *Rapin* here admit, that the King was ſo prudently upon his Guard, as not to be prevailed on too readily to part with his Money, which muſt certainly be owing to the Advice given him by his Miniſter *Wolſey*, according to Monſieur's former Aſſertion, *that he ſolely directed his Maſter in every Thing.*

Affairs of England.

1517.

A Tumult begun at London.

The Beginning of this Year a Tumult happened in *London*, ariſing from ſome of the *Citizens* and the *poorer Sort* of the People taking an Offence againſt *Foreigners*, who had got ſeveral of their Cuſtomers from them, greatly, as it was ſaid, to the Prejudice of the Natives and Freemen of the City; which induced one *John Lincoln*, a Broker, to be very active in the Matter, by endeavouring to ſtir up the People againſt *Foreigners* in general.

The

The Way he took was this, on *Palm Sunday* he repaired to Dr. *Standiſh*, (the ſame Gentleman who had very lately given Offence to the Clergy) telling him, as he heard he was to preach the *Spittal* Sermon, on *Monday*, in *Eaſter-Week*, he begged him to ſet forth therein the many Hardſhips the Citizens ſuffered, from Strangers being employed in their Stead: But the Doctor told him, it was not proper for him to meddle with thoſe Matters in his Diſcourſe, and therefore refuſed his Requeſt. Upon this *Lincoln* attended Dr. *Beal*, who was to preach on the *Tueſday*, and made the like Requeſt: The Doctor promiſed he would comply with it, and accordingly kept his Word, which greatly encreaſed the People's Prejudice againſt Foreigners.

An Adventure there.

In the mean Time one *Bard*, a *Lombardian*, enticed away the Wife of a wealthy Citizen, and prevailed on the merry diſpoſed Lady to bring ſeveral of her Huſband's Effects with her, both which he refuſed to reſtore when demanded, but arreſted the Huſband, and obliged him to pay for the Wife's Board. Upon this Complaints were made to the Privy Council; but ſufficient Notice was not taken thereof, in order to curb the Inſolence of thoſe Strangers, which made them ſtill more daring; inſomuch, that *Bard*, being in the Royal Gallery at *Richmond*, with ſome Foreigners, made a Jeſt of keeping an *Engliſhman*'s Wife, and one of them anſwered, That, had he the Lord-Mayor's Wife, he would ſerve him in the ſame Manner, which more and more exaſperated the Citizens Ill-will to Strangers in general.

Another Quarrel there.

On the 28th of *April*, a Parcel of young Men quarrelled with ſome Strangers, as they paſſed along the Streets, and beat and abuſed them terribly, for which two of them were ſent to Goal. On a ſudden it was rumoured among the Citizens, that they would deſtroy all

Foreigners on *May-day*, which coming to the Knowledge of the Miniſtry, Cardinal *Wolſey* ſent for Sir *John Reſt*, the Lord Mayor, and demanded of him, *How the City was?* To which his Lordſhip anſwered, *That it was well and quiet*; *Nay*, ſaid the Cardinal, *we are informed, that your young People will riſe and deſtroy the Foreigners reſiding among you. No, ſurely*, rejoined the Mayor; *for I truſt ſo to govern them, that the King's Peace ſhall be preſerved, and that I dare undertake, if I and my Brethren, the* Aldermen, *may be permitted ſo to do. Then go Home*, ſaid *Wolſey*, *and wiſely look after this Matter, and, if any Ill is intended, take care to prevent it.*

The Lord Mayor attends Wolſey.

The Lord Mayor returned from the Cardinal, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, on the 30th of *April*, and demanded of his Officers, *What they had heard?* Some of them anſwered, *That the Voice of the People was againſt Foreigners, and had been ſo for two or three Days before.* Upon this the Mayor ſent for the *Aldermen* to attend him in *Guild-hall*; but it was almoſt ſeven of the Clock before they met. Mr. Serj. *Brooke*, the Recorder, opened the Occaſion of their Meeting, by telling them, "That the King's "Council had heard, that the Commonalty intended to "riſe, and deſtroy the Strangers reſiding in the City." The Aldermen ſaid, "That they had heard ſo, but "did not believe it, though it was very well to "be provided againſt the worſt." Then the Recorder propoſed to raiſe a large Force from among the Houſekeepers, others objected againſt it; and ſome propoſed to iſſue an Order, that every Man ſhould ſhut in his Doors, and keep his Servants within, which was approved of. With this Reſolution the Recorder attended the Cardinal for Advice, and then it was 8 o'Clock; the Cardinal alſo approved

A Court of Aldermen called.

of

of it, and ordered him to ſee it put in Execution, adding, *That each Houſekeeper ſhould be enjoined not to ſuffer his Servants to go out till ſeven next Morning.* The Recorder, having received this Advice, repaired, with Sir *Thomas More*, (who had accompanied him,) to *Guild-hall*, when it was near 9 o'Clock, and the Mayor and Aldermen were ſtill ſitting there, who, hearing what the Cardinal had adviſed, each of the Aldermen returned to his Ward, and gave Directions to the Houſekeepers, "to ſhut their Doors "immediately, and not ſuffer any of their Servants "to ſtir out till ſeven the next Morning."

The Tumult increaſes.

After this Sir *John Munday*, one of the Aldermen, finding two young Men playing at Cudgels, and ſeveral looking on, ordered them to leave off and go to their reſpective Habitations, which they not obeying, he commanded one of them to be ſent to the Compter; whereupon the others cried, *Apprentices and Clubs!* which inſtantly drew together ſo many ſtout Lads armed, that the Alderman thro' much Difficulty eſcaped with his Life. *Lincoln* immediately headed them, broke open the Compter, and let out the Priſoners committed for Rioting. Sir *Thomas More* attended the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who made Proclamation, requiring every Man to return to his Place; but that would not do, the Tumult was got to too great an Height; and therefore his Lordſhip was obliged to have recourſe to Arms. In the mean while the Rabble fell upon the Foreigners wherever they could find them, killed ſome, and uſed others in a very cruel Manner; broke open their Houſes, and deſtroyed their Effects.

The Cardinal having Notice of this Uproar, by Means of Sir *Richard Cholmondeley*, Lieutenant of the Tower, about 5 o' Clock in the Morning, the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Surry*, and others entered *London* with

Suppreſſed by the Citizens. a conſiderable Force; but, before they arrived, the Lord Mayor had ſuppreſſed the Inſurrection, and taken 300 of them Priſoners, among which were ſeveral Boys not 15 Years old, and *Lincoln* their Leader.

Lincoln and others tried and found guilty of Treaſon. Then ſeveral of the Priſoners were examined, and Dr. *Beal*'s Sermon was brought upon the Carpet, which, as judged by many, greatly encouraged the Tumult. However, a Commiſſion immediately iſſued for trying theſe weak People, and, on the 4th of *May*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surry*, and others coming into the City, with a Guard of above 1300 Soldiers, the Court was opened at *Guild-hall* before the *Lord Mayor*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other great Perſonages, before whom *Lincoln* with twelve more were tried and convicted of *High Treaſon*, and were immediately ordered for Execution, on which *Lincoln* ſpoke to the Court.

My Lords,

Lincoln's *Speech.* *I meant well, and you know the Miſchief that has attended the Nation thro' Foreigners, of which I have complained, as you well know, ſeveral times, but was only called a buſy Fellow. I know I ſhall ſuffer, and the Lord have Mercy on me!*

On the 6th of *May*, *Lincoln*, with *Sherwin*, and two Brothers, named *Betts*, were drawn on Hurdles to the Standard in *Cheapſide*, where *Lincoln* was executed; but the other three, juſt as the Ropes were putting about their Necks, were reprieved.

His Execution.

During this Time there was a large Body of Forces doing Duty in the City; but, as ſoon as this Execution was over, they were diſmiſſed, Orders being given to ſtop further Proceedings againſt the Rioters for the preſent, and a Proclamation was iſſued,

iſſued, as *Hall* tells us, for the Women to be kept aſunder, to prevent their Babbling and Talking, and their Huſbands were enjoined to keep their Wives at Home: But this Hiſtorian does not tell us, whether the good Women in thoſe Days obeyed their Huſbands Commands.

The Lord Mayor, &c. admitted to an Audience of the King.

On the 11th of *May* the King came to his Palace at *Greenwich*, where he was attended by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*, dreſſed in black Gowns, who, being introduced to his Majeſty, kneeled before him; and the Recorder, Mr. Serj. *Brooke*, made the following Speech to the King.

" *Moſt Gracious Sovereign,*

The Recorder's Speech.

" We know well that your Ma-
" jeſty is diſpleaſed with your City of
" *London*, on the Account of the great Riot that
" has lately happened there. We aſſure your Majeſty,
" that none of us, nor none of the ſubſtantial Citizens
" were aiding or aſſiſting in this great Offence; tho'
" we, our Wives, and Children, every Hour lament,
" that your Favour ſhould be removed from us: And,
" foraſmuch as it was tranſacted by light and idle Per-
" ſons, we moſt humbly intreat your Majeſty, to have
" Mercy on us, and ſhew Compaſſion to the heedleſs
" Offenders, for their late Miſconduct."

The King's Anſwer.

" Truly, replied the King, you
" have highly diſpleaſed and of-
" fended Us, and you ought to bewail and be ſorry
" for the ſame; and where you ſay, that you, the
" ſubſtantial Perſons, were not conſenting to this
" Tranſgreſſion, it appears to the contrary; for you
" did not move to prevent the Ill, which makes
" Us think you winked at the Matter. However,
" at this Time, We will neither grant you our Fa-

" vour

" your or Good-will, nor the Offenders Mercy. We " refer you to the Cardinal, our Lord Chancellor, who " will let you know our Pleasure."

The Lord Mayor, &c. attend Cardinal Wolsey.

On this they attended on the Cardinal, who received them kinder than they expected, when they begged he would intercede with the King on the Behalf of the City, and the poor unfortunate Prisoners; all which, after a proper Admonition, he promised to do,* and then dismissed them.

His Majesty sits in the Court of King's-Bench.

On the 13th of *May* the King came to *Westminster-hall*, attended by the Cardinal, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Essex*, *Wiltshire*, and *Surry*, and many other Lords, (though honest Monsr. *Rapin* would persuade his Readers, that they had all quitted the Court and were got into the Country) and took his Seat in the Court of *King's Bench*: Immediately after appeared the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the chief Citizens of *London*, richly habited in their Livery Gowns; and then were brought into the Hall above 300 Prisoners in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, ranged in Rows, some of which were little Boys about thirteen Years old, with their Fathers, Mothers, and Relations, following them to the Hall, bemoaning their Condition. Upon this

The Cardinal opens the Affair.

the Cardinal opened the Occasion of the King's sitting in Judgment, reprimanded the Mayor and the other Magistrates, for not taking greater care of the Peace of the City; and to the Prisoners he declared, they justly deserved Death. Then all the Prisoners cried to the King for Mercy, the Cardinal with the other Lords interceded

* This shews, that Cardinal *Wolsey* had a great Regard for the Citizens of *London*, and was not, as some would insinuate, an Enemy to that great and honourable Body.

ceded in their Behalf, and his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant their Requeſt by pardoning them, which was no ſooner made known to the Priſoners, than the Hall rung with their Shouts of Joy: Whereupon they were ſet at Liberty, and his Majeſty, with his Nobles, retired. This Pardon had ſo good an Effect, that the Peace of the City was immediately reſtored, the Traders carried on their Handicrafts and Shop-keeping as uſual, which the Tumult had interrupted; and the Citizens, for ſome time after, called the *firſt* of *May*, *Evil May-day*.

And his Majeſty pardons the Londoners.

One Circumſtance at this Juncture was humorous enough, ſeveral Offenders, who had not been taken, hearing that the King was inclined to ſhew Mercy to the Priſoners, took the Opportunity, as they paſſed on, to ſtrip themſelves to their Shirts, and, having Ropes tied about their Necks, got into the Hall with the Priſoners, where they likewiſe obtained the King's Pardon; among whom was *John Gelſon*, who was one of the firſt Promoters of the Riot.

The Peace of the City being thus reſtored, and his Majeſty at Peace with all the neighbouring Princes, the Cardinal, through his Maſter's Encouragement, further attended the improving Arts and Sciences; though the Trade and Commerce of the Nation was not forgot; inſomuch, that every good Subject reſted himſelf contented, as it were *under his own Vine, and under his own Fig-tree*.

In the Beginning of the Month of *June*, his Majeſty cauſed a grand *Juſt* to be prepared for the Entertainment both of himſelf and the foreign Ambaſſadors, in which our young Monarch appeared againſt the Duke of *Suffolk* (who came to attend the King at this Sport) having each twelve Noblemen and Gentlemen of a Side, richly habited according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times.

His

His Majeſty, attended by Gentlemen Armorers and other Officers, to the Number of 125 Perſons, cloathed in white Velvet, firſt entered the Ring on one Side, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Dorſet*, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Surry*, with ſeveral others of his Band, entered on the other; then the Trumpets blew, and the King and the Duke immediately engaged, and ran fiercely at each other, whilſt the other Parties were no leſs active; and ſuch was the Paſtime of the Day, according to the Report of Sir *Edward Guilford*, Maſter of the Armory, and of the Judges and Heralds in waiting, that there were no leſs than five hundred and ſix Spears broken. The Sport being over, his Majeſty entertained the Ambaſſadors and his Court with a ſumptuous Supper; propoſing to continue theſe Juſts, at proper Times, during the Summer, which were then looked on as the moſt healthy Exerciſe in being.

But his Majeſty was ſoon interrupted in his Intention, for, before *June* was expired, there broke out among the People a Diſtemper, called the *Sweating Sickneſs*, which made great Ravage in the Kingdom, eſpecially in *London*. It was otherwiſe termed the *Sudor Anglicanus*, or the *Engliſh Sweat*; "which carried off, ſays Lord *Herbert*, divers Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers of the King's Courts, particularly Lord *Clinton*,* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and others

From this Nobleman the late Right Hon. *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, was deſcended, who was Paymaſter of the Forces in the Reign of *George* the Iſt. His Lordſhip married *Lucy*, Siſter of his preſent Grace, *Thomas*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, by whom he had Iſſue two Sons, *George* and *Henry*, beſides Daughters. The Earl died the 7th of *Sept.* 1728, and his Counteſs the 20th of *July*, 1736; and his Lordſhip was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by *George*, his eldeſt Son, a young Nobleman juſt arrived at Age, who gives room for great Expectations. The Title of Lord *Clinton* is now enjoyed by the Right Hon. *Hugh Forteſcue*, who was called up by Writ to the Houſe of *Lords* on the

" others of Quality." In ſome Places it took away a third, in others half the People. This Plague continued from the latter End of *June* to *December*, during which Time the Judges adjourned the Term, and his Majeſty kept no Court, but was only attended by his own Family and his Prime Miniſter, *Wolſey*; and *Hall* ſays, *he much lamented the Affliction that thus attended his People.*

No ſooner did this infectious Diſtemper ceaſe, but it was ſucceeded, as *Stow* relates, by ſo great a Drought, that it did not rain from *December* to *May* following, and the Froſt was ſo hard in the Winter, that Horſes and Carts paſſed over the Ice between *Weſtminſter* and *Lambeth*.

While theſe Calamities raged Sir *Thomas More* was pitched on for an Ambaſſador to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*'s Court, to execute a Commiſſion on the Part of our Sovereign. Of this and other Affairs he adviſes his old Friend *Eraſmus*, in the following Letter:

THOMAS MORE *to* ERASMUS.

" The Reaſon why you receive mine, and ſome " other Letters, much later than I could wiſh, or " you ought to have received them, was, the De- " parture of our *Palgrave*, who was every Day ready " for a Journey, tho' delayed by ſome Accident or " other; for I thought him the propereſt Perſon to " carry you my Letters, who had brought me yours; " ſo that it was neceſſary to ſend theſe after the for- " mer, that you might ſee the Reaſon of the Delay, " and know how at preſent it is with us, who are now " in the midſt of the greateſt Troubles and Dangers, " many People every where dying, and almoſt all at " *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and *London* being ill within a

the 16th of *March*, 1721, having firſt made out his Claim to the Satisfaction of his Majeſty and the Houſe of Lords.

" few Days, and a great many of our beſt and moſt
" worthy Friends dead, among whom is our Friend,
" *Andrew Ammonius*, whoſe Death I am concerned to
" think will be an Affliction to you alſo, as Learning
" and all good Men will have a very conſiderable Loſs
" in him. He ſeemed, in his own Opinion, to be very
" well guarded againſt the Infection, by his temperate
" Way of Living, which he thought was the Reaſon that,
" as ſcarce any Perſon had this Illneſs, but the whole
" Family had it alſo at the ſame time, his whole Family
" had before eſcaped it; which he boaſted of to me,
" and many others, not many Hours before he died:
" For no one dies of this *Sweat* if he ſurvives the firſt
" Day he is ſeized with it. I, my Wife, and Chil-
" dren, have eſcaped it hitherto, and all the reſt of
" my Family are got well again: And this I aſſure
" you, that there is leſs Danger in the Country than in
" the City. This Diſtemper, as I am informed, is
" now beginning to rage at *Calais*, at a Time when
" we are obliged to go thither upon an Ambaſſy, as
" if it were not ſufficient for us to have lived in the
" Infection, but muſt follow it alſo: But, as in every
" Thing in which we are engaged, we muſt ſubmit
" to whatever ſhall befal us, I have compoſed my
" Mind to all ſorts of Events. I wiſh you your
" Health. I write in haſte.
" *London*, *Aug.* 19."

Soon after the writing this Letter he proceeded on his Ambaſſy to *Flanders*; and, when he had fully executed his Maſter's Commands, he returned to *England*. Having acquitted himſelf much to the King's Satisfaction, his Majeſty was pleaſed to offer him a Penſion, which he refuſed, and the Reaſons he aſſigned for it he ſets forth in another Letter to his Friend *Eraſmus*, in which he ſays,

" When I returned from my Ambaſſy to *Flan-*
" *ders*, the King's Majeſty would have given me a
" yearly

" yearly Penſion, which ſurely, if we would reſpect
" Honour and Profit, was not to be a little eſteemed;
" yet have I hitherto refuſed, and think I ſhall refuſe
" it ſtill, becauſe I ſhould be fain to forſake my pre-
" ſent Means, which I have already in the City of
" *London*,* (and I eſteem that more than a better)
" or elſe I muſt keep it with ſome Diſlike of the Citi-
" zens, between whom and his Highneſs if there
" ſhould happen any Controverſy, as ſometimes it
" doth chance, about their Priviledges, they might
" ſuſpect me as not ſincere and truſty to them, in
" caſe I ſhould be obliged to the King for an annual
" Stipend."†

* Senior Judge of the Sheriffs Court.

† This Letter ſhews Sir *Thomas More*'s Prudence, and how *jealous* the Citizens of *London* have early been in reſpect to *aſſerting* and *maintaining* their Rights and Priviledges againſt all Incroachments; and, to their Honour, it muſt be acknowledged, that they have, on ſeveral important Occaſions, firmly aſſerted theirs and their fellow Subjects Liberties, againſt the Deſigns of ſome who would have invaded them in the moſt ſenſible Part; and it will be great Pity, (becauſe her Deſtruction muſt inevitably enſue) if ſhe ſhould ever deviate from this plain, good, old Path. And we are not without hopes, that, notwithſtanding this our great Metropolis and the whole Nation are at preſent but too ſenſible of the great Decay of Trade, and Growth of Luxury, they will revive in the one, and abandon the other: So, with our moſt earneſt Deſires, that All may ſtrive to forward this glorious Work, we ſhall conclude our *Second Volume*.

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ERRATA.

Page 40, Line 14, for *hunt* read *hunc*; p. 112, l. 11, f. *Auguſtia* r. *Auguſtiæ*; p. 120, l. 30, f. *Courier*, r. *Courtier*; p. 163, l. 4, f. *Fear* was greater than their *Valour*, r. *Valour* was greater than their *Fear*; p. 222, l. ult. f. *Baſartie*, r. *Baſoche*; p. 248, l. 15, f. *Junſture*, r. *Junctim*; p. 263, l. 14, in the Note, f. *Britain*, r. *Britus*; p. 271, l. 8, f *ſpentick*, r. *ſplentick*; p. 332, l. 13, f. *a Gentleman*, r. Dr. *Ayliffe*.